SKRIFTER UTGIVNA AV
SVENSKA INSTITUTET I ATHEN

ACTA INSTITUTI ATHENIENSIS REGNI SUECIAE
8°, XI

Kevin Clinton

MYTH AND CULT

The Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries

SKRIFTER UTGIVNA AV SVENSKA INSTITUTET I ATHEN, 8°, XI
ACTA INSTITUTI ATHENIENSIS REGNI SUECIAE, SERIES IN 8°, XI

Myth and Cult

The Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries

The Martin P. Nilsson Lectures on Greek Religion,
delivered 19–21 November 1990 at the
Swedish Institute at Athens

by

Kevin Clinton

STOCKHOLM 1992
Distributor Paul Åströms förlag
Västra Hamngatan 3, S- 411 17 Göteborg, Sweden

Editorial Committee: Prof. Tullia Linders, Uppsala, *Chairman*; Prof. Paul Åström, Göteborg, *Vice-chairman*; Mrs. Inez Hagbarth, Stockholm, *Treasurer*; Dr. Charlotte Scheffer, *Secretary*; Prof. Birger Bergh, Lund; Prof. Birgitta Bergquist, Stockholm; Prof. Jerker Blomqvist, Lund; Miss Gunnel Ekroth, Stockholm; Prof. Pär Göran Gierow, Lund; Prof. Robin Hägg, Athens; Prof. Carl Nylander, Rome.
Secratary's address: Department of Ancient Culture and Society, Stockholm University, S–106 91 Stockholm, Sweden.
Editor: Dr. Brita Alroth, Uppsala.
Distributor: Paul Åströms Förlag, Västra Hamngatan 3, S–411 17 Göteborg, Sweden.

Recommended abbreviation for this series: ActaAth-8°.

Published with the aid of a grant from
the Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences

Abstract

Clinton, Kevin, *Myth and Cult. The Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries. The Martin P. Nilsson Lectures on Greek Religion, delivered 19–21 November 1990 at the Swedish Institute at Athens.* Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 8°, 11. Stockholm 1992, 209 pp., 12 ills., 52 pls. ISBN 91-7916-025-5

Iconography serves as the starting part for the treatment of central aspects of the myth and cult of the Eleusinian Mysteries.

The presence of the Mirthless Rock in artistic representations, its location in the sanctuary, and its relation to the Callichoron Well provide a perspective for assessing the aetiological elements in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and the relation of the *Hymn* to Eleusis.

The iconography of Eubouleus, Iakchos, and Eumolpos is established, and that of Triptolemos and Ploutos is discussed extensively.

The importance of Eubouleus in artistic representations is seen to correspond to his importance in the Mysteries, and the identification of him in certain scenes reveals his function in the myth of the Mysteries. Discussion of his role in the Thesmophoria leads to an examination of the relation of the Mysteries to the Thesmophoria.

The various roles of all these figures in artistic representations provide a basis for revised interpretations of several works of art, and these interpretations are exploited in turn to gain a more precise idea of the myth that was enacted in the Mysteries and to speculate on how it was enacted.

Key words: Greek religion, Mysteries, iconography, Eleusis, Thesmophoria, Demeter, Kore, Triptolemos, Ploutos, Iakchos, Eubouleus, *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Telesterion, Attic vases.

Kevin Clinton, Cornell University, Department of Classics, Goldwin Smith Hall, Ithaca, NY 14853-3201, USA.

ISBN 91-7916-025-5
ISSN 0081-9921
© 1992 Svenska Institutet i Athen
Printed in Sweden by
Textgruppen i Uppsala AB, 1992

To my parents
John and Mary Clinton

Contents

Preface 7

Abbreviations and Select Bibliography 11

Chapter 1. Sacred Landscape 13
I. Introduction 13
II. Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα 14
III. Callichoron Well 27
IV. The *Homeric Hymn*: a Re-evaluation 28

Chapter 2. Eleusinian Gods 38
I. Introduction 38
II. The Youth in the Great Eleusinian Relief 39
The Attributes of Triptolemos 41
Attributes of Triptolemos in Non-Attic Representations 45
Attributes of Triptolemos: Summary 47
The Finding Place of the Relief 48
Recent Proposals 49
Ploutos 49
The Lakrateides Relief 51
The Significance of Eleusinian Ploutos 53
Ploutos in the Great Eleusinian Relief 54
III. Eubouleus 56
IV. Eubouleus, the Thesmophoria, and the Mysteries 59

Chapter 3. More Gods, the Scenes, and the Myth of the Mysteries 64
I. Iakchos 64
Iakchos: The Boston Stamnos 68
Iakchos: Other Vase Paintings 69
Iakchos: Sculptural Representations 70
Iakchos: Conclusion 71
II. Eubouleus in the Fifth Century 71
Eubouleus in the Cult Myth: Conclusions 72
III. The Ninnion Tablet 73
IV. Eumolpos 75
Eumolpos: Other Identifications, Possible or Unlikely 76
Eumolpos: Conclusion 78
V. Interpretation of Eleusinian Scenes 78
V.A. Arrays of Gods 78
Regina Vasorum 78
St. Petersburg Pelike 81
Other "Arrays" 82
V.B. Celebration of Ploutos 83
V.C. Return of Kore 84

VI. The Sacred Drama 84
VII. Artistic Representations and the Secrets of the Mysteries 90
VIII. The Birth of a Child in the Mysteries 91

Chapter 4. Conclusions 96
I. Iconography 96
II. The *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 96

Appendix 1. Triptolemos as Child 100

Appendix 2. The Age of Ploutos 103

Appendix 3. Plouton and Hades in Art 105
I. Iconography 105
Plouton and Hades in *LIMC* 107
II. Plouton in Eleusinian Scenes 111
III. Hydria in London (British Museum E 183) 112

Appendix 4. Theos and Thea 114

Appendix 5. Hekate at Eleusis 116

Appendix 6. The "Omphalos" and the Cult of Dionysus in Eleusis 121
I. The "Omphalos" 121
II. The Cult of Dionysus in Eleusis 123

Appendix 7. The Name of the Telesterion 126
Ἀνάκτορον: Testimonia 128

Catalogs 133
Eleusinian Ploutos in Attic Vase Painting 133
Eleusinian Ploutos in Attic Sculpture 134
Eubouleus in Attic Vase Painting: Fourth Century 134
Eubouleus in Attic Vase Painting: Fifth Century 135
Eubouleus in Sculpture 135
Iakchos in Attic Vase Painting 136
Iakchos in Sculpture 136
Iakchos on Attic Coins 138
Eumolpos in Attic Vase Painting 138
Eumolpos in Sculpture 139

List of Illustrations 141

List of Figures 142

Indices 144
LIMC 144
Collections 146
Passages 150
General 154

Plates 157

Preface

The present study was, originally, not meant to be a book. It began its existence as two separate articles with rather modest goals. One article, a study of the iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries would incorporate most of my public discussions of the subject over the preceding six or seven years (the unpublished part of a lecture, "The Author of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*," The Swedish Institute at Athens, April, 1984; "The Youth in the Great Eleusinian Relief," A.I.A. Annual Meeting, December, 1986; "Eleusinian Iconography and Cult: Iakchos and Eubouleus," A.I.A. Annual Meeting, January, 1989): its purpose was to establish the iconography of Eubouleus, Iakchos, Eumolpos, and the youth in the Great Eleusinian Relief. The other article dealt with the location of the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα at Eleusis, an inquiry that had its beginnings in my commentary to Eleusinian inscriptions. In 1989, when both had reached an advanced stage, it became clear that they belonged together; for as I wrote the concluding section of the first study, I found that the ability to identify the individual gods provided a reward that far exceeded my original modest goals: several entire Eleusinian scenes now, for the first time, made complete sense; and the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα played a more central role in them than I had at first imagined. Shortly afterwards Robin Hägg, Director of the Swedish Institute at Athens, invited me to give the Martin P. Nilsson Lectures in November, 1990. This provided a welcome opportunity to unite the two studies and to reflect on the implications which the results had for the festival of the Mysteria and the myth.

As is clear from the preceding description of its genesis, the present work is not meant to be a comprehensive study of the Mysteria or their iconography. This investigation of sacred topography and iconographical matters necessarily goes its own way; and though in its course it addresses central aspects of the cult and its myth, it does so mainly when it reaches appropriate vantage points. (The appendices contain essays in support of arguments in the main text and studies on related matters which the expanded inquiry caused me to investigate.) So the results cannot be pursued here with the kind of treatment they would ordinarily receive in a systematic study of the entire cult. For example, the interpretation of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* that emerges needs to be incorporated in a fresh study of all extant versions of the myth. And while it has been possible to isolate the myth, or, as we might prefer to say, the episode, that was enacted in the cult, I have not attempted to discuss, except in passing, other episodes that seem to be presupposed but were not enacted. Thus the present work is preliminary. The larger, systematic study I hope to undertake upon completion of the edition of the inscriptions of the sanctuary.

One of the most significant results of the present study has been the realization that the customary modern use of the terms "Eleusis"

and "Eleusinian" (usually without explicit definition) as "site of the Mysteries" and "pertaining to the Mysteries" is too narrow. Eleusis was, for members of the deme and for Athenians in general, much more than the home of the Mysteries. In this deme other important (though unfortunately not well attested) cults flourished, including several Demetriac festivals—the Eleusinia, Haloa, Thesmophoria, and Kalamaia—and, in their own local sanctuaries, the festivals of Heracles and Dionysus. The deme was also the site of important shrines, such as that of the tribal hero Hippothon and, high up on the hill, a cave of Pan. All these cults and their gods are indeed reflected, as one might expect, in the rich artistic documentation that has been inspired by "Eleusis."

Thinking of "Eleusis" almost synonymously with the Eleusinian Mysteries has therefore been a handicap to understanding some works of literature and art. The *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* is a case in point, where many of us (myself included) have gone astray largely because we did not question the fundamental assumption about the equivalancy of "Eleusis" and the Mysteries. To me the poem, though obviously Eleusinian on its surface, seemed not to reflect important aspects of the Mysteries, and so I regarded it as only superficially related to "Eleusis;" at least one scholar in resisting that view has attempted to show that the poem is more closely related to the Mysteries than appearances indicate. The present study hopes to show that these difficulties start to disappear as we broaden our vision of Eleusis.

It has been for me a very special honor to give the Martin P. Nilsson Lectures, for the reader will soon see how indebted the present work is to that great scholar, whose work on ancient Greek religion is fundamental to the field. To Robin Hägg, Nanno Marinatos, and the staff and students of the Swedish Institute I am deeply grateful for their magnificent hospitality which made my visit such a memorable one. Their comments, questions, and discussions have enabled me to make improvements in the manuscript; and our trip to Eleusis caused me to see some things in a new light.

Appendix 6 was delivered in Delphi on 16 November 1990 as a paper at the First International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, "The Iconography of Greek Cult in the Archaic and Classical Periods," sponsored by the Swedish Institute at Athens and the European Cultural Centre of Delphi.

In order to make easily accesible the bibliography and a brief description of the representations of gods whose iconography is of central concern, I have appended catalogs, arranged roughly in the order in which the works of art appear in the discussion. This arrangement seemed more useful than chronological order, since the question of chronology is raised in the discussion only when it is significant, e.g. in the development of the iconography of a specific figure. Most of the relevant works of art are of the fifth and fourth century B.C., and Eleusinian iconography tends to be fairly uniform from the last quarter of the fifth century to the end of the fourth.

A similar consideration led me to add brief summaries, in Chapter 4, of the iconography of the gods whose representations are listed in the catalogs. This seemed also to be the appropriate place to present a summary of my interpretation of the aetiological aspects of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, since they are discussed at various points in the chapters and appendices.

To avoid potential confusion, especially between the traditional English names Pluto (for Plouton) and Plutus (for Ploutos), I have used transliterations of the names of all Eleusinian gods (for the other Greek gods I have retained my personal preference for the traditional spellings.)

In preparing this study I have received so much help from so many quarters that the following acknowledgements are bound to be incomplete or inadequate. I greatly regret any omissions.

After the lectures members of the audience in public and private discussion helped me clarify several matters. Robin Hägg organized a timely trip to the Archaeological Museum in the Piraeus to examine and photograph the am-

phora from Trachones (*Figs. 67–70*). I am most grateful to M. Zapheiropoulou and S. Kalliodi for their gracious cooperation and especially for interrupting their work to come with us to make sure that we had everything we needed.

For advice or help with various points or problems I am indebted to V. Altman, J.P. Binder, N. Bookidis, P.E. Easterling, E.B. Harrison, H.R. Immerwahr, J.H. Kroll, J. Mansfield, J. Meredith, M.M. Miles, D.G. Mitten, B.C. Petrakos, A.E. Raubitschek, B.S. Ridgway, M. Robertson, H.A. Shapiro, H.A. Thompson, J. Wickens, and two anonymous readers. Special thanks are due to J.H. Oakley, O. Palagia, and N. Marinatos for reading an earlier version of Chapters 2 and 3, to A. Westervelt for reading the entire manuscript, and offering helpful comments, and to O. Palagia and J. Collins Clinton for many discussions and much advice on art-historical matters. Of course I alone am responsible for all errors. That I had the opportunity to benefit from so much help is due in no small part to the environment provided by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens—hearth and home to παρθένου φίλας φίλοι from North America, Greece, and many other parts of the world. To the Director, W.D.E. Coulson, I am grateful for much friendly assistance in facilitating access to collections in Greece.

For providing photographs I wish to thank the insitutions and individuals mentioned in the List of Figures; and for the adaptation of Noack's plan (*Ill. 4*) L.A. Turner. I am especially grateful to O. Tzachou-Alexandri (National Archaeological Museum in Athens), M. True, (the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu), F.W. Hamdorf (Antikensammlungen in Munich), and C.C. Vermeule (Museum of Fine Arts in Boston) and their staffs for their assistance when I examined vases in their collections.

To V. Altman, A. Laidlaw, O. Palagia, and R. Morello go my sincere thanks for standing in for Demeter and Kore in several of the illustrations.

Financial support for trips to museums and to Eleusis was generously provided by the Prescott W. Townsend Fund of the Department of Classics at Cornell University. In 1987–88 as a Guggenheim Fellow and Visiting Member at the Institute for Advanced Study, my principal efforts were devoted to the edition of Eleusinian inscriptions, but it was impossible to resist the temptation to take advantage of the Institute's congenial library and to gather together there much of the basic material for this study, while the hospitality of Homer and Dorothy Thompson provided memorable opportunities to discuss with them several of the problems.

I should like also to express my gratitude to the Archaeological Society for permission to study and edit the inscriptions of their excavations at Eleusis and to the Archaeological Service for their help and collaboration, especially T. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou, Ephor of the 3rd Ephoreia, and P. Pappangeli, Epimeletria of Eleusis. I owe also an enormous debt to the late G.E. Mylonas and J. Travlos not only for all that I have learned from their Eleusinian studies but also for their warm support of my own epigraphical work at Eleusis. It is a source of considerable sadness that I was unable to discuss with them the results of the present study.

August, 1991

Abbreviations and Select Bibliography

Bérard, *Anodoi* = C. Bérard, *Anodoi: Essai sur l'imagerie des passages chthoniens* (Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana, 13), Rome 1974.

Bérard, 'Apocalypses' = *idem*, 'Apocalypses éleusiniennes', in *Apocalypses et voyages dans l'au-delà*, ed. C. Kappler, Paris 1987, pp. 127–156.

Bérard, 'Lumière' = *idem*, 'La lumière et le faisceau: images du rituel éleusinien', *Recherches et documents du centre Thomas More* 48, 1985, pp. 17–33.

Beschi = L. Beschi, *LIMC* IV, Paris 1988, 'Demeter', pp. 844–892.

Bianchi = U. Bianchi, *The Greek Mysteries* (Iconography of Religions, 17.3), Leiden 1976.

Brown = C.G. Brown, 'Empousa, Dionysus and the Mysteries: Aristophanes, *Frogs* 285ff.', *CQ* 41, 1991, pp. 41–50.

Burkert, *Homo Necans* = W. Burkert, *Homo Necans*, Berkeley 1983.

Burkert, *Mystery Cults* = *idem*, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, Cambridge, Mass. 1987.

Burn = L. Burn, *The Meidias Painter*, Oxford 1987.

Clay = J.S. Clay, *The Politics of Olympus: Form and Meaning in the Major Homeric Hymns*, Princeton 1990.

Clinton, 'Author' = K. Clinton, 'The Author of the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*', *OpAth* 16, 1986, pp. 43–49.

Clinton, *Sacred Officials* = *idem*, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (TransAmPhilSoc, 64.3), Philadelphia 1974.

Clinton, 'Sacrifice' = *idem*, 'Sacrifice in the Eleusinian Mysteries', in *Early Greek Cult Practice, Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26–29 June, 1986* (Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 4°, 38), Athens 1988, pp. 69–80.

Davis, *Building Inscriptions* = P.H. Davis, *Some Eleusinian Building Inscriptions of the Fourth Century Before Christ*, Geneva, N.Y. 1931.

Deubner, 'Weihehaus' = L. Deubner, 'Zum Weihehaus der eleusinischen Mysterien', *AbhBerl*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1945/46, no. 2.

Dugas = C. Dugas, 'La mission de Triptolème d'après l'imagerie Athénienne', in *Recueil Charles Dugas*, Paris 1960, pp. 123–139 = *Mél Rome* 62, 1950, pp. 7–31. References here are to the later version.

Edwards = C.M. Edwards, 'The Running Maiden from Eleusis and the Early Classical Image of Hekate', *AJA* 90, 1986, pp. 307–318.

Eschbach, *Statuen* = N. Eschbach, *Statuen auf panathenäischen Preisamphoren des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.*, Mainz 1986.

Foerster, *Raub* = R. Foerster, *Der Raub und die Rückehr der Persephone*, Stuttgart 1874.

Graf, *Eleusis* = F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (RGVV, 33), Berlin & New York 1974.

Graf, *Kulte* = *idem*, *Nordionische Kulte* (Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana, 21), Rome 1985.

Kerényi, *Eleusis* = C. Kerényi, *Eleusis, Archetypal Image of Mother and Daughter*, Princeton 1967.

Kraus = T. Kraus, *Hekate*, Heidelberg 1960.

Kroll-Walker = J.H. Kroll & A.S. Walker, *The Athenian Agora: The Greek Coins*, Princeton, in press.

Kron, *Phylenheroen* = U. Kron, *Die Zehn attischen Phylenheroen* (AM-BH, 5), Berlin 1976.

Lindner, *Raub* = R. Lindner, *Der Raub der Persephone in der antiken Kunst* (Beiträge zur Archäologie, 16), Würzburg 1984.

Martin-Metzger = R. Martin & H. Metzger, *La religion grecque*, Paris 1976.

Metzger, *Recherches* = H. Metzger, *Recherches sur l'imagerie athénienne*, Paris 1965.

Metzger, 'Relief' = *idem*, 'Le Triptolème du relief d'Eleusis', *RA* 1968, pp. 113–118.

Metzger, *Représentations* = *idem*, *Les représentations dans la céramique attique du IVe siècle* (BEFAR, 172), Paris 1952.

Metzger, 'Valeur' = *idem*, 'Sur le valeur de l'attribut

dans l'interpretation de certaines figures du monde éleusinien', in ΕΙΔΩΛΟΠΟΙΙΑ. *Actes du Colloques sur les problèmes de l'image dans le monde méditerranéen classique. Château de Lourmarin en Provence, 2–3 septembre 1982* (Archaeologica, 61), Rome 1985, pp. 173–178.

Mylonas, 'Διόνυσος' = G.E. Mylonas, '' Ελευσὶς καὶ Διόνυσος', *ArchEph* 1960, pp. 68–118.

Mylonas, *Eleusis* = *idem*, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton 1961.

Mylonas, *Hymn* = *idem*, *The Hymn to Demeter and Her Sanctuary at Eleusis*, St. Louis 1942.

Nilsson, *GGR* = M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I³, II², Munich 1967, 1961.

Nilsson, 'Gottheiten' = *idem*, 'Die eleusinische Gottheiten', *ArchRW* 32, 1935, pp. 99–141, here cited as revised, in *Opuscula Selecta* II (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen, 8°, 2), Lund 1952, pp. 542–623.

Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* = *idem*, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der Attischen*, Leipzig 1906.

Noack, *Eleusis* = F. Noack, *Eleusis, die Baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des Heiligtumes*, Berlin & Leipzig 1927.

Parker = R. Parker, 'The *Hymn to Demeter* and the *Homeric Hymns*', *Greece & Rome* 38, 1991, pp. 1–17.

Peschlow-Bindokat = A. Peschlow-Bindokat, 'Demeter und Persephone in der attischen Kunst des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts', *Jdl* 87, 1972, pp. 60–157.

Prange, *Niobidenmaler* = M. Prange, *Der Niobidenmaler und seine Werkstatt: Untersuchungen zu einer Vasenwerkstatt frühklassischer Zeit* (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 38, Archäologie, 25), Frankfurt 1989.

Raubitschek, 'Mission' = I.K. and A.E. Raubitschek, 'The Mission of Triptolemus, in *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture, and Topography Presented to Homer A. Thompson* (*Hesperia*, Suppl. 20), Princeton 1982, pp. 109–117.

Richardson, *Hymn* = N.J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Oxford 1974.

Schauenburg, 'Pluton' = K. Schauenburg, 'Pluton und Dionysos', *Jdl* 68, 1953, pp. 38–72.

Schefold, *Göttersage* = K. Schefold, *Die Göttersage in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst*, Munich 1981.

Schefold, *UKV* = *idem*, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen* (= *Archeologische Mitteilungen aus russischen Sammlungen*, 4), Berlin & Leipzig 1934.

Schneider = L. Schneider, 'Das grosse eleusinische Relief und seine Kopien', *AntP* 12, 1973, pp. 103–124.

Schwarz, 'Eubouleus' = G. Schwarz, 'Zum sogenannten Eubouleus', *GettyMusJ* 2, 1974, pp. 71–84.

Schwarz, *Triptolemos* = *eadem*, *Triptolemos, Ikonographie einer Agrar- und Mysteriengottheit* (Grazer Beiträge, Suppl. 2), Horn-Graz 1987.

Sfameni Gasparro = G. Sfameni Gasparro, *Misteri e culti mistici di Demetra*, Rome 1986.

Shapiro, *Art and Cult* = H.A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens*, Mainz 1989.

Simon, *Festivals* = E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica, An Archaeological Commentary*, Madison 1983.

Simon, 'Hekate' = *eadem*, 'Hekate in Athen', *AM* 100, 1985, pp. 271–284.

Simon, 'Neue Deutung' = *eadem*, 'Neue Deutung zweier eleusinischen Denkmäler des vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.', *AntK* 9, 1966, pp. 72–92.

Travlos, 'Anaktoron' = J. Travlos, 'Τὸ Ἀνάκτορον τῆς Ἐλευσῖνος', *ArchEph* 1950–51, pp. 1–16.

Travlos, *Attika* = *idem*, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Attika*, Tübingen 1988.

Weidauer, 'Eumolpos und Athen' = L. Weidauer, 'Eumolpos und Athen', *AA* 1985, pp. 195–210.

Weidauer, 'Poseidon und Eumolpos' = *eadem*, 'Poseidon und Eumolpos auf einer Pelike aus Policoro', *AntK* 12, 1969, pp. 91–93.

Zervoudaki = E.A. Zervoudaki, 'Attische Polychrome Reliefkeramik des späten 5. und des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.', *AM* 83, 1968, pp. 1–88.

Zuntz = G. Zuntz, *Persephone*, Oxford 1971.

I

Sacred Landscape

I. Introduction

One of the most impressive parts of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* comes at the end, in the poet's august phrases about the founding of the Mysteries (478–479): "solemn rites which it is not possible to transgress or to learn about or to utter. For a great reverence for the gods holds back one's voice." With these words the story of the rape of Kore has become indelibly fused in the minds of generations of readers with the Eleusinian Mysteries. Less well known is the fact that there were other versions of the story in which Eleusis plays no role at all. According to one version Kore is abducted in Sicily, according to another in Argos, and so on. Many of these local versions arose in the context of local Demeter cults. The story in the *Homeric Hymn* would seem to be the local Eleusinian version and ought therefore to stand in a fairly close relationship to the Mysteries. Difficulties which this natural assumption entailed have occasionally caught the attention of historians, but did not seriously affect the status of the assumption.[1] More recently N.J. Richardson's observation that some other versions more closely reflected the local Eleusinian story drew attention again to such difficulties and to the fact that the local version of Eleusis was different from that of the Hymn.[2]

In a lecture at the Swedish Institute in 1984, later published in *Opuscula Atheniensia*, I focused on an array of difficulties which suggested to me that the *Hymn* is in fact only superficially related to Eleusis (i.e. the Mysteries).[3] The *Hymn*, for instance, has nothing to say about Athenian tradition concerning Eumolpos, the first hierophant, to whom Demeter entrusted the Mysteries, and there is nothing about the important role of Triptolemos. The tradition about the Callichoron Well is imperfectly rendered in the *Hymn*. Eleusinian practice regarding the names of gods, such as Kore, Plouton, and such distinctly Eleusinian deities as Θεός and Θεά, is conspicuously missing. Hekate, a major figure in the *Hymn*, apparently was not worshipped in the Mysteries.[4] Eleusinian rites, such as Gephyrismos, which may be reflected in the *Hymn*, are merely peripheral in the cult. On the other hand, a central element in the *Hymn*, Demeter's immersion of Demophon in fire, can be related to the cult only by the application of *force majeure*. Indeed, the most important Eleusinian event in the *Hymn* has no basis: no reason is given for making Demeter

---

[1] E.g. Nilsson, *GGR* I³, p. 660; Martin-Metzger, p. 149.

[2] Richardson, *Hymn*, pp. 77–85, esp. 82: "Once again, this suggests that the Orphic version is simply the local legend of Eleusis, and later of Attica."

[3] Clinton, 'Author'. I further suggested that the *Hymn* was not composed for an Attic audience (against Richardson, *Hymn*, p. 6); on this question see below, p. 36, n. 111.

[4] Further discussion below, pp. 33–34, and Appendix 5.

go to Eleusis in the first place.[5] It rather looks as though the poet told a general story known to all about the rape of Persephone in the mythical Plain of Nysa, but decided, in honor of the great Eleusinian sanctuary, to have Demeter end her quest there, and he finished his story with the establishment of the famous cult.

While I no longer agree with all the conclusions I drew from these difficulties, one thing is clear: they should serve at the very least as a warning, that we should not look first to the *Homeric Hymn* for an accurate account of the cult myth of the Eleusinian Mysteries. Nor of course should we ignore the *Hymn*, for it contains good information about Eleusis despite omissions and inaccuracies concerning the Mysteries. But we should recognize that it has exercised an undeserved tyranny over historians of religion and archaeologists. We should put it aside, at least at first, and turn instead to sources that are definitely Athenian and Eleusinian. Surely this is the better approach—to start with what we know really pertains to the Mysteries than with a poem whose accuracy concerning the Mysteries is in doubt. Although in the course of this study some of my earlier conclusions about the *Homeric Hymn* will have to be modified, we shall see that the form of the myth as it appears in the Mysteries is rather different, far more than I realized seven years ago, from the one told in the *Homeric Hymn*.

A most important Athenian testimony concerning the myth and the cult is offered by the brief synopsis which Isocrates gave in his *Panegyricus* (28):

> "First of all, that which mankind first needed was provided by our city. For even if the story is mythic, nevertheless, it is fitting for it to be told even now. When Demeter, having wandered about after Kore was abducted, arrived in our country, and was well disposed to our ancestors (προγόνους) because of their kindnesses (εὐεργεσίαι) which it is not possible for those who are not initiated to hear, and gave them double gifts (δωρεὰς διττάς), which happen to be the greatest—the fruits of the earth (τοὺς καρπούς), which are responsible for the fact that we do not live like animals, and the festival (τὴν τελετήν), the participants in which have sweeter hopes concerning the end of life and all time (τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος), our city was so reverent and generous (φιλανθρώπως), that when it possessed such great good things it did not begrudge them to others but let all share in the things which it received."

Some of the important things which this passage reveals are (1) that the ancestors of the Athenians did some favors (εὐεργεσίαι) for Demeter which Isocrates feels he cannot divulge; (2) that the most important return favors of Demeter to the ancestors of the Athenians were the grain and the festival; (3) that a major benefit conferred by the festival concerns the afterlife; and (4) that the Athenians prided themselves on their generosity in transmitting both gifts to the rest of the Greek world. The *Homeric Hymn* of course lacks this Athenian frame of reference, as we have seen. What is more interesting is that the *Hymn* does not give us a solid clue that there even existed a secret part of the *myth itself*.

II. Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα

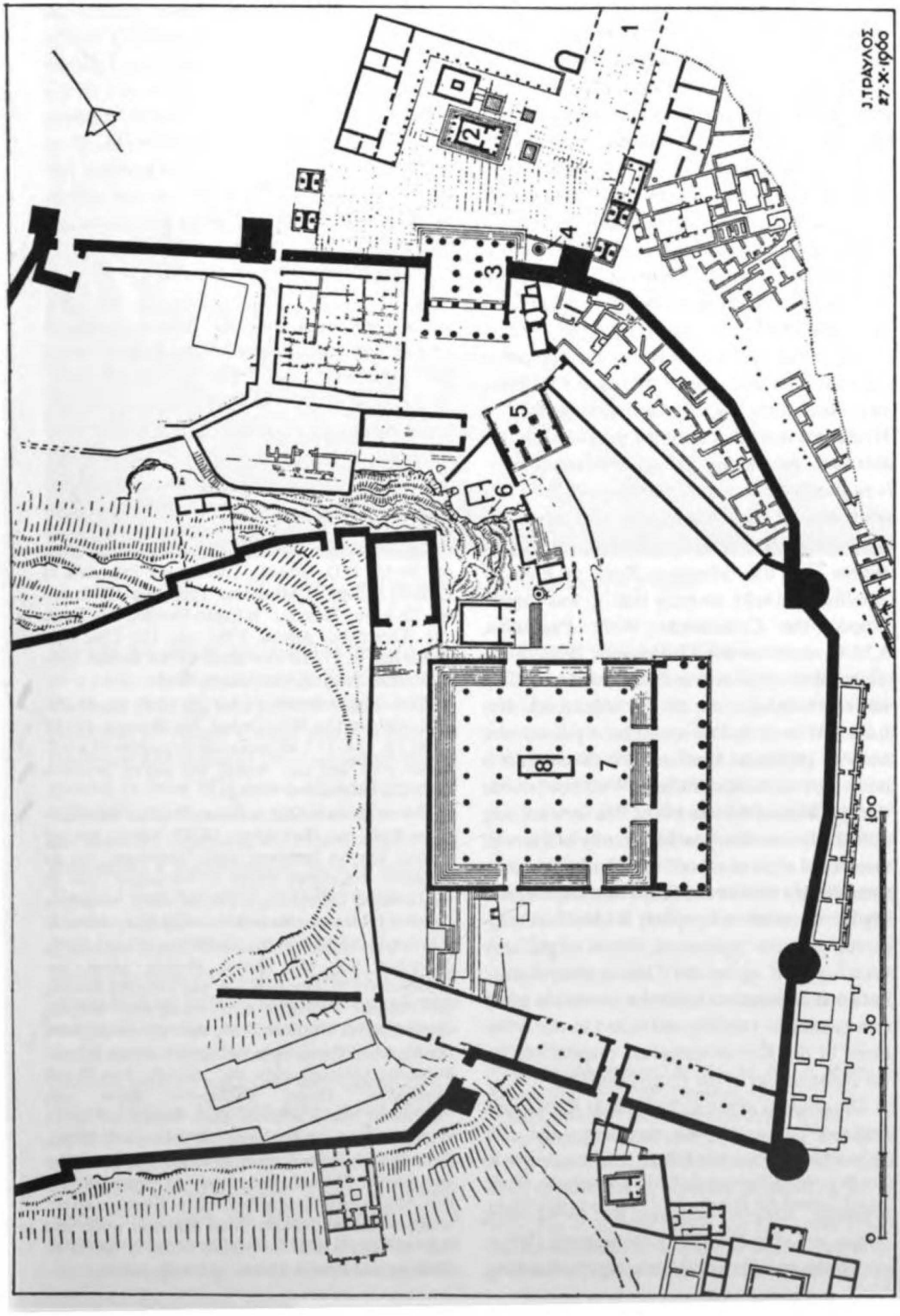
An important Eleusinian landmark not mentioned in the *Homeric Hymn* was known as the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα, the Mirthless Rock. Scholars have long argued that it appears on red-figure vases,[6] but recently A. and I. Raubitschek published a red-figure volute crater in Stanford with a scene that shows absolutely clearly that Demeter (attested by an inscription) is sitting on a rock (*Fig. 11*).[7] She is at-

---

[5] The difficulties which I listed in the article of course do not all have the same value. For example, the poet's use of divine names not found at the sanctuary was probably determined by the epic tradition. He could in theory have known about the Eleusinian names, but was obliged by his art to use the traditional formulas. So the value of this difficulty is simply that it implies that the poem could not have arisen from *within* the cult, i.e. composed by Eleusinian sacred officials as some kind of a cult hymn. Cumulatively, however, the difficulties reinforce one another so that the overall conclusion is inescapable.

[6] For a discussion with bibliography see Metzger, *Recherches*, pp. 46–48.

[7] Raubitschek, 'Mission', pp. 115–117.



Ill. 1. The sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis.
1. Sacred Way. 2. Temple of Artemis and Poseidon. 3. Greater Propylaea. 4. Callichoron Well.
5. Lesser Propylaea. 6. Mirthless Rock. 7. Periclean Anaktoron. 8. Interior structure.

tended to by a maiden labeled "Parthenos," who is pouring a libation (probably into a phiale held by Demeter). There can be no doubt, in this Eleusinian context, with Triptolemos hovering in his winged chariot (*Fig. 12*), that Demeter is sitting on the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα. This must be part of the Eleusinian landscape, and it naturally suggests a sacred spot of great antiquity, like the Callichoron Well.

The *Bibliotheca* of (Pseudo-)Apollodorus gives us the fullest description of the Mirthless Rock at the moment in the story when Demeter arrives at Eleusis: "... in the form of a woman she arrived at Eleusis. And first of all she sat on the rock that was named after her Mirthless, near (παρά) the so-called Callichoron Well."[8] Ovid, too, mentions the Mirthless Rock in his *Fasti* as a uniquely Athenian landmark:[9]

sic venit ad portus, Attica terra, tuos.
his primum sedit gelido maestissima saxo:
illud Cecropidae nunc quoque triste vocant.

Where was this Mirthless Rock at Eleusis? Apollodorus tells us only that it was "near" (παρά) the Callichoron Well. Pausanias, 1.38.6, mentions the Callichoron Well in his description of the area in front of the sanctuary but says nothing about the Mirthless Rock. It is hard to believe that he would have passed over such an important landmark for the myth if it were next to the Callichoron Well but outside the peribolos of the sanctuary.[10] In fact, nothing outside the sanctuary in the vicinity of the well resembles a monumental πέτρα. In this area there is only the Greater Propylaea and the paving of the outer courtyard. Richardson suggested that the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα might have been *covered up* by the Greater Propylaea,[11] but such callousness toward a venerable tradition cannot be credibly attributed to the Athenians or the Roman emperors responsible for the construction of the Propylaea.[12]

The obvious πέτρα in the area, as Rubensohn realized,[13] is *within* the sanctuary—the cliff above the nearby cave (*Ill. 2*). He was drawn to it for a couple of reasons. A scholion to Aristophanes' *Knights* mentions the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα just after describing the Εἰρεσία Πέτρα, which seems to be a cliff (or a large rock jutting out of the sea) on Salamis. Hence, Rubensohn reasoned, the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα might also be a cliff. The scholion describes it as follows: "There is also the so-called Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα among the Athenians, where they say Theseus sat as he was about to descend to Hades; from which the Rock got its name, or because Demeter sat there weeping when she was searching for Kore."[14] The cliff above the cave would

---

[8] 1.5.1: ... εἰκασθεῖσα δὲ γυναικὶ ἦκεν εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνης κληθεῖσαν Ἀγέλαστον ἐκάθισε πέτραν παρὰ τὸ Καλλίχορον φρέαρ καλούμενον. I will refer to the author henceforth simply as Apollodorus.

[9] 4.502–504.

[10] Cf. Mylonas, *Hymn*, p. 86.

[11] Richardson, *Hymn*, p. 221.

[12] On its construction see my article, 'Hadrian's Contribution to the Renaissance of Eleusis', in S. Walker & A. Cameron, *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire* (BICS, Supplement 55, 1989), pp. 56–68; D.G. Giraud, 'The Greater Propylaia at Eleusis, a Copy of Mnesikles' Propylaia', ibid., pp. 69–75; *idem*, Ἐλευσίς: Ἡ Κυρία Εἴσοδος τοῦ Ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἐλευσῖνος, Athens 1991, pp. 115–276, who points out, p. 27, the care taken by the Roman builders not to harm the Callichoron Well.

[13] 'Eleusinische Beiträge', *AM* 24, 1899, pp. 46–54. He is followed by D.G. Giraud, Τὸ Πέτρωμα, *EDAE* 1990, pp. 134–137, an important discussion of a hollowed rock and cap, which, the author believes, served to hold sacred writings.

[14] The entire text of the scholion, Ar. *Eq.* 785a Koster = Suda, s.v. Σαλαμῖνος (Σ 49 Adler): ἵνα μὴ τρίβῃς: ἵνα μὴ ἐκτρίψῃς μηδὲ διαφθείρῃς τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι καμοῦσαν πυγὴν ἐν ναυμαχίᾳ. ἀπὸ δὲ Μαραθῶνος Σαλαμῖνος μέμνηται, ὅπου ναυμαχία Περσῶν ἐγένετο, ἐν Μαραθῶνι πεζομαχία. κεῖται δὲ ἡ Σαλαμὶς ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς Ἐλευσῖνος πόλεως, ἱερᾶς Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς Κόρης, πλήρης οὖσα κατορθωμάτων Ἑλληνικῶν. καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα πολλὰς τῶν Περσῶν Ἀθηναῖοι κατεναυμάχησαν τριήρεις ὀλίγῳ ἀριθμῷ, Θεμιστοκλέους στρατηγοῦντος. ἔνθα καὶ Εἰρεσία Πέτρα, οὕτω καλουμένη ὥσπερ διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τρόπαιον οὖσα τῆς Ἀττικῆς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα καλουμένη παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὅπου καθίσαι φασὶ Θησέα μέλλοντα καταβαίνειν εἰς Ἅιδου· ὅθεν καὶ τοὔνομα τῇ πέτρᾳ, ἢ ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐκάθισεν ἡ Δημήτηρ κλαίουσα, ὅτε ἐζήτει τὴν Κόρην. The scholion seems to derive from a non-Attic source: it calls the deme of Eleusis a πόλις, which would be unlikely in an Athenian work; and the implication that the whole deme is sacred to Demeter and Kore is a bit of an exaggeration.

Ill. 2. The cave at the entrance to the sanctuary at Eleusis.

suit this description, because it is situated next to a cave which could easily have served as Theseus' entrance to the Underworld. Rubensohn also published a relief found within the sanctuary which shows Demeter sitting on the ground in front of a group of worshippers.[15] Unfortunately the rock is not so clear as it is on the Stanford vase, and some have challenged Rubensohn's interpretation. In any case, the Stanford vase now gives us a clear image of the Mirthless Rock, so that we need not worry about the relief. Yet to take πέτρα as the cliff above the cave forces us to imagine Demeter sitting high up on this cliff—a rather awkward image, to say the least. Nor are there any remains on the top of the cliff in this area to indicate that the spot was in any way special. In addition, George Mylonas aptly noted that in Euripides' *Suppliant Women*, as Evadne is about to jump off the cliff in this area, the rock is merely called αἰθερία πέτρα or simply πέτρα.[16] And now the Stanford vase, which shows Demeter sitting on a rock that rises up to form a seat, also urges us to reject the top of the cliff as the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα.

Nevertheless the cave and the cliff are the obvious πέτραι in the vicinity of the Callichoron Well, and they beckon to us to look in their vicinity for the Rock on which Demeter sat.[17] Mylonas and Rubensohn, in respecting the information in the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus that the Mirthless Rock was "near" the well, were undoubtedly on the right track in associating these πέτραι with the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα. Mylonas preferred to locate the Mirthless Rock close to the cave precinct and by the path leading to the Telesterion, but he did not have a firm opinion.[18] His instinct, however,

---

[15] Rubensohn (above, n. 13), pl. 8.1 = Mylonas, *Eleusis*, fig. 72; *LIMC*, Demeter, 125.

[16] *Supp.* 987–990; Mylonas, *Hymn*, pp. 87–88.

[17] For πέτρα as "cave" cf. LSJ, s.v. πέτρα, 2.

[18] Mylonas, *Hymn*, p. 91. In *Eleusis*, p. 146, he tentatively suggested it was "on the worked piece of rock projecting above the pavement of the Roman Sacred Way (fig. 4, no. 25)." However, one would expect that its sacred character would be signalled by an appropriate architectural context, like that surrounding

seems right. Unfortunately, none of the other ancient references gives us a more precise location than "in Attica".[19] But from all of them it is clear that the Mirthless Rock was famous as a local *Attic* landmark: *illud Cecropidae nunc quoque triste vocant*. It is part of an Attic story of Demeter and occurs in no other Greek landscape.[20] This Attic quality of the Rock, to which the sources draw attention, ought to link the landmark to the Mysteries, the Eleusinian cult associated most closely by non-Athenians with Athens and Attica (as opposed to Eleusinian festivals of more local significance, such as the Kalamaia and Thesmophoria).

If it is not the cliff above the cave, we may now ask whether it could be the cave itself. One obvious difficulty, which evidently deterred Rubensohn and Mylonas, is that the area that includes the cave is known as the "Ploutonion". The underworld character of this precinct is obvious. Dedications to underworld deities, viz. the God, the Goddess, and Eubouleus, have been found there,[21] including the Lakrateides Relief dedicated by the priest of the God and Goddess and Eubouleus.[22] The name "Ploutonion" is not actually attested; what is attested is the phrase τὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος, which has been understood to mean either a small *templum in antis* within the precinct[23] or the precinct itself.[24] In a financial account for the year 329/8 a rather large number of expenditures in the sixth prytany are made for τὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος, including *antae* (παραστάδες) for a doorway.[25] These expenses are clearly for

---

the Callichoron Well. The "worked piece of rock" is apparently a piece of rock that broke off from the cliff; it is described by Noack, *Eleusis*, p. 82.

[19] Diogenianus, I, 8, *Paroemiographi Graeci*, p. 181, eds. Leutsch-Schneidewin: ἐπὶ τῶν λύπης προξένων ἡ παροιμία. ἐπ' αὐτῆς γάρ ἐκάθισεν ὅτε τὴν κόρην ἐζήτει ἡ Δημήτηρ. Zenobius, I, 7, *Paroemiographi Graeci*, p. 3, eds. Leutsch-Schneidewin: Ἀγέλαστος πέτρα: ἐπὶ τῶν λύπης προξένων πραγμάτων εἴρηται. Ἔστι δὲ ἡ πέτρα αὕτη ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ἐφ' ἧς ἐκαθέσθη ἡ Δημήτηρ, ὅτε τὴν κόρην ἐζήτει. The rest of the account in Zenobius is identical to the story of the rape and search as in Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, loc. cit. Hesychius, α 31 Latte: ἀγέλαστος πέτρα· ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ κτλ. (as in Zenobius). Photius, α 148 Theodorides: ἀγέλαστος· ὁ πρὸς γέλωτα οὐκ ἐπιτήδειος. καὶ ὁ στυγνός. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πέτρα Ἀθήνησιν οὕτω λεγομένη (= Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, s.v. ἀγέλαστος, p. 337). Αἰσχύλος δέ φησι καὶ "φρὴν ἀγέλαστος". οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἐκώλυσε λέγειν καὶ νοῦς ἀγέλαστος καὶ διάνοια ἀγέλαστος καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. *Idem*, *Bibliotheca*, ed. Henry, 319b.19–22: καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἰαμβίζειν κατά τινα γλῶσσαν λοιδορεῖν ἔλεγον. Οἱ δὲ ἀπό τινος Ἴάμβης θεραπαινίδος, Θράττης τὸ γένος· ταύτην φασίν, τῆς Δήμητρος ἀνιωμένης ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἁρπαγῇ, προσελθεῖν περὶ τὴν Ἐλευσῖνα ἐπὶ τῇ νῦν Ἀγελάστῳ καλουμένῃ πέτρα καθημένην καὶ διά τινων χλευασμάτων εἰς γέλωτα προαγαγέσθαι τὴν θεόν.

[20] Its closest parallel is the Ἀνακληθρὶς πέτρα at Megara, where Demeter sat down during her wanderings and called after her daughter; here Megarian women ritually imitated Demeter at this spot (Paus. 1.43.2): Ἀνακληθρίδα τὴν πέτραν ὀνομάζουσιν, ὡς Δημήτηρ, εἴ τῳ πιστά, ὅτε τὴν παῖδα ἐπλανᾶτο ζητοῦσα, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀνεκάλεσεν αὐτήν. ἐοικότα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ δρῶσιν ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι αἱ Μεγαρέων γυναῖκες.

[21] The finds: D. Philios, "Ἐλευσινιακὰ Ἀνάγλυφα", *EphArch* 1886, cols. 19–31, and "Κεφαλὴ ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνος", ibid., cols. 258–266. Lysimachides Relief with Theos and Thea: *IG* II² 4683 (*Fig. 8*), below, p. 51. Statue base for Eubouleus: *IG* II² 4615. Head of Eubouleus: NM 181, below, pp. 57–58, Catalog, Eubouleus, Sculpture, No. 4.

[22] *IG* II² 4701; see below, Chap. 2, pp. 51–53.

[23] Mylonas, *Eleusis*, p. 99, fig. 4, no. 20; Foucart, *Mystères*, p. 348.

[24] So Noack, *Eleusis*, p. 78, with pl. 6.

[25] The following expenses are listed in *IG* II² 1672:

Lines 168–170: Boards of elm for lattice doors.

Line 172: Making the lattice doors.

Line 173: Wood for the door jambs for the lattice doors.

Lines 173–174: Nails for the lattice doors.

Lines 174–175: Stone threshold blocks for the lattice doors.

Lines 175–176: Finishing off the threshold blocks, transporting and placing them, boring holes in them (for the door pivots) [----?----], and pouring lead.

Lines 176–177: Lead and rental of a melting pot.

Lines 177–178: Polishing the *antae* (παραστάδες).

Line 180: Setting up scaffolding for those polishing the *antae* and coating with lime plaster (κονιῶσιν) and for those coating the roofs with pitch.

Lines 185–186: Making the capitals for the *antae*.

Line 186: Painting the capitals encaustically.

Lines 187–188: Making the moldings (κυμάτια) and κανονίς.

Lines 186–187: Painting the moldings.

a structure in stone. So Foucart's suggestion that this was the temple in the cave precinct at first seemed reasonable.[26] Further consideration, however, uncovered difficulties. Noack, following Rubensohn, dated construction of the remains of this temple to the second half of the fifth century.[27] If τὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος indicates the same building, it had to wait until 328, i.e. approximately a century after it was begun, for the threshold blocks of its door and for its *anta* capitals to be installed, which of course is rather unlikely. Another difficulty is that the dimensions of the threshold blocks in the inscription do not fit the preserved remains of the temple.[28] Therefore Noack (and before him Dörpfeld) took τὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος to refer to the whole precinct. In fact, the expenses seem to relate best to an entranceway undergoing renovation (rather than to a simple doorway). However, in that case it cannot be the entrance to the cave precinct at Eleusis; for it is quite unlikely that the entrance to this precinct was adorned with *antae* (παραστάδες), yet *antae* are listed among the expenses of the inscription. *Antae* are ruled out by Davis' observation: "The wall [of the precinct] seems to have abutted against the jambs of the entrance door."[29] Therefore the sanctuary called τὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος in the inscription of 329/8 cannot be the cave precinct at Eleusis.

We must now examine the account carefully to see if provides any clue to the true location of the entranceway of τὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος, which would solve the larger question of the location of this sanctuary. We may start with the entry for the contractor who set up the scaffolding for those who did the final smoothing of the *antae*: τῶι ἱκριώσαντι τοῖς ἀποξοῦσιν τὰς παραστάδας καὶ κονιῶσιν καὶ τοῖς πιττοκοποῦσιν τὰς ὀροφάς (lines 178–179), "the man who set up the scaffolding for those who were smoothing the *antae* and coating with lime plaster and for those coating the roofs with pitch." The separate occurrences of the definite article τοῖς indicate that the scaffolding was set up for two separate groups of workers: 1) "those who were smoothing the *antae* and coating (them) with lime plaster," and 2) "those coating the roofs with pitch." This is confirmed by a separate payment to the men who did the smoothing of the *antae* (line 177)[30] and a separate payment to the contractor in charge of the men who coated the roofs with pitch (line 180). Since the groups of workers are separate, the roofs need not be part of the sanctuary of Plouton, to which the *antae* belong. Yet the roofs are probably not too distant from this sanctuary, since the same man set up scaffolding *in this prytany* for both projects. Where were the roofs? There is no mention of a roof in connection with τὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος—only lattice doors, the doorway, and *antae*. This tends to suggest that the gateway of the sanctuary of Plouton was a simple one, without a propylon. The only roofs, in fact, that appear among the expenses in this prytany are roofs within the Eleusinion in the City. There is mention of a purchase of "five jars of pitch to coat the roofs of the Eleusinion in the City and the doors (lines 232–233)."[31] The sanctuary of Plouton ought, then, to be in the general vicinity of the Eleusinion. It seems much less likely to be as far away as Eleusis, for it would have been a needless expense to have the same man set up his scaffolding at Eleusis and, a few days later, in the Eleusinion in the City, instead of hiring someone at Eleusis to set up scaffolding there, as in fact they did for other projects.[32] It is also interesting that the same man made "the doors

---

[26] *BCH* 7, 1883, p. 390.

[27] *Eleusis*, p. 79.

[28] As Davis, *Building Inscriptions*, p. 63, pointed out.

[29] Davis, *Building Inscriptions*, p. 63.

[30] Mention of the plastering is omitted in connection with the payment, a trivial slip, since the men were paid for their whole operation, both polishing and plastering, which went together.

[31] Tiles are purchased (line 188), presumably for the roofs in the Eleusinion, and reeds for the layer below the tiles (line 189), probably for the Eleusinion. (The entry in line 203 for κονίασις and ἀλοιφή of the Eleusinion must refer to a wall of the Eleusinion for which bricks were purchased and laid [lines 182–185].)

[32] Cf. lines 180–182: scaffolding for the Neokorion.

for the Eleusinion in the City and (its) prothyron" (lines 226–227) and the lattice doors of τὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος (line 234). This carpenter, or joiner, no doubt made the doors on the spot, and while it would not be impossible for him to work at two sites as distant from each other as Eleusis and the Eleusinion, it is a much easier hypothesis to think of him as working at two sites that were reasonably close together.[33]

Another interesting fact about the expenses of this prytany reinforces this conclusion about the proximity of the sanctuary of Plouton to the Eleusinion (in the City). Very few *operations*, other than delivery of materials and relatively insignificant jobs, are documented for the sanctuary at Eleusis in this prytany.[34] On the other hand, there are numerous operations listed for the Eleusinion in the City and the sanctuary of Plouton, and clearly the public slaves who worked for the Epistatai in this prytany were working in the Eleusinion (lines 167–168).[35] It seems reasonably certain therefore that the Eleusinian Epistatai had shifted the center of their operations for this prytany to the City, where they combined work on the sanctuary of Plouton with projects in the Eleusinion.

Other testimonia for this sanctuary also suggest that it is not too far from the Eleusinion. The most abundant evidence consists of a series of documents listing a group of men who together with the hierophant made up a couch for Plouton and set his table.[36] These documents were probably found on the slopes of the Acropolis, the Areopagus, and environs, as far as we can tell from the little information that is available.[37] The general area between the Eleusinion and the Acropolis would not be inappropriate for Plouton. Pausanias, 1.28.7, mentions that in the sanctuary of the Semnai by the Areopagus there were statues of Plouton, Hermes, and Ge. It is conceivable that a precinct for Plouton was set off within this sanctuary.[38] Pausanias also mentions (1.28.7) a tomb of Oedipus in this sanctuary ("within its *peri-*

---

[33] Davis, *Building Inscriptions*, pp. 65–66. In the tenth prytany (lines 229, 235) he worked at Eleusis on the ἱματιοθήκη and on block-and-tackle equipment: again his activities within a single prytany were confined to a single locale.

[34] At the beginning of the prytany (lines 140–141, 144–145) we read of whitewashing the altars of Demeter and Kore, making seats (?) for the Haloa, and fixing a throne; of these operations the first two (and possibly also the third) would have taken place outside the sanctuary (see commentary in my forthcoming edition). Another operation listed for Eleusis is the making and installation of doors for the πυλίδες (lines 163–164), again not one which required access to the interior of the sanctuary. The sawing of wood which lasted for the entire prytany (lines 159–160) probably took place in the port of Eleusis or nearby. The Neokorion, which received some work (lines 164–165, 180–182, 201–202, 208), may have been located outside the sanctuary; perhaps it is the building in front of the sanctuary which Kourouniotes and Travlos, *Praktika* 1938, pp. 36–40, called a Pompeion (but now Travlos, *Attika*, p. 95, the sanctuary of Triptolemos).

[35] Davis, *Building Inscriptions*, p. 66.

[36] *IG* II² 1933, 1934, 1935, 2464, *Hesperia* 11, 1942, p. 75, no. 38 (I 5177) + *Hesperia* 28, 1959, p. 284, no. 12 (I 5897). *IG* II² 1934 is perhaps the best example:

[Ἱεροφάν]της Νουφράδου Περιθοίδης ἀνέ-
[γρ]α[ψεν] τοὺς ἐποφθ[έ]ντας ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν
κλίνην στρῶσαι τῶι [Π]λούτωνι καὶ τὴν
τράπεζαν κοσμῆσα[ι] κατὰ τὴν μαντεία[ν]
τοῦ θεοῦ·
Ἱεροφάντην Νουφρ[άδ]ου Περιθοίδην
Χαρικλῆν Θεοδώρο[υ Φ]αληρέα
κτλ.

[37] Cf. *Sacred Officials*, p. 20: *IG* II² 1933 was found "on the Acropolis"; 1934 frg. *a* "below the Areopagus (?)", frg. *b* "at the entrance to the Acropolis"; 1935 "on the south slope of the Acropolis"; 2464 "at the bottom of the north slope of the Acropolis"; I 5177 in a Byzantine wall just to the south of the Eleusinion (Section II), I 5897 in a Byzantine context just to the west of the Eleusinion (Section T 20).

Hesperia 11, 1942, p. 265, no. 51, a decree perhaps of the deme of Melite (cf. *Sacred Officials*, p. 71), honors a priestess of the Thesmophoroi, because among other things, she ἐπε]σκεύακεν δὲ καὶ πά[ν]τα ἐν τῶι τοῦ Πλ[ούτωνος ἱερῶι. The decree may have been set up in or by the Eleusinion or somewhere in the deme of Melite; either place would be in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Plouton.

[38] We learn from an honorary decree of the Eumolpidae (*IG* II² 1231; see my forthcoming edition) that [Neopto]lemos son of A[ntikles of Melite] decorated τὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος ἱερόν. (It is significant that the decree does not designate this sanctuary as "at Eleu-

Ill. 3a. *IG* I³ 386, lines 153–160.

Ill. 3b. *IG* I³ 386, lines 155–159.

bolos"), and I would assume that this Heroon for Oedipus was set off in some way. We can only hope that further study of the area around the Areopagus and the area between the Eleusinion and the Acropolis will lead to an identification of the gateway that received new doors and work on its *antae* in the year 329/8.[39]

At any rate, virtually all references to this sanctuary of Plouton show that it was not located at Eleusis but in Athens. The only other reference occurs in an Eleusinian account of the year 408/7:

156 τὰς θύρα[ς τῶ] Πλ[ούτονος]
ἐν τῆι ἑορτῆι ἀ[νοῖχσαι].[40]

This reinforced the original view of Foucart, Philios, and others that the Ploutonion was at Eleusis, because all of the expenses in this part of this document occurred in connection with the sanctuary at Eleusis. However, the reading is a mistake. The true reading (*Ills. 3a–b*) is:

156 τὰς θύρα[ς πε]ρι[αλεῖψαι *vacat*]
ἐν τει ἑορτει ἀγ[οῖχσαι].[41]

This eliminates all evidence for the existence of a sanctuary of Plouton within the sanctuary at Eleusis. Our review of the evidence therefore shows that we are not compelled to call the cave precinct a Ploutonion. We are free to consider other possibilities.

There is an additional piece of evidence concerning the Mirthless Rock. In the financial records of the year 329/8 which provide so much information about the sanctuary of Plouton in central Athens we also learn, at another point, that the Eleusinion in the City required a

---

sis": there was therefore only one sanctuary of Plouton under the control of the Eumolpidae.) His other benefactions of this sort relate primarily to cults in central Athens (for his career and benefactions cf. Davies, *APF* 10652): gilding an altar of Apollo in the Agora, dedications on the Acropolis, supervision of the cult of Artemis Aristoboule in Melite, and dedication of a relief in the cave of Pan on the NW slope of the Acropolis (now Agora I 7154; T.L. Shear, Jr., *OpRom* 9, 1973, pp. 183–192; H. Thompson, *JWalt* 36, 1977, pp. 73–84).

Fourmont recorded a dedication to Plouton and Kore from "Athens," which had a relief representing Plouton holding a "horn": *IG* II² 4751.

[39] When I mentioned to Homer Thompson my conclusion that a sanctuary of Plouton existed in the vicinity of the Eleusinion in the City, he called my attention to the area just to the south of the Eleusinion where several deposits of Plemochoai were found (Deposits T 22:1, T 22:2, U 22:5; J.J. Pollitt, *Hesperia* 48, 1979, pp. 205, 233; for the identification of the Plemochoai, F. Brommer, *AA* 1980, pp. 540–549). Pollitt noted that Deposit T 22:1 was disposed of carefully, in a pious manner, and concluded: "It is not unlikely that the pit in which these kernoi were found was dug by officials of the Eleusinion, and if such was the case, the location of Deposit I [= T 22:1] might be taken to imply that the officials of the Eleusinion had control of, or at least access to, this southern area." T.L. Shear, *Hesperia* 7, 1938, p. 329, noted "the presence of a sanctuary of the fifth century B.C." and "a small circular building of early Roman date."

[40] *IG* I³ 386, lines 156–157.

[41] See the upper right corner of *Ill. 3b*: The iota is perfectly clear, situated near the center of the stoichos, where it should be (the vertical stroke of Attic lambda would not appear in the center but at the left edge, as in the lambda three lines below [line 159, *Ill. 3a*]). In the preceding stoichos what appears to be a pi does not seem so on closer inspection; the

purchase of 1600 bricks: πλίνθοι εἰς τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον τὸ ἐν Ἄστει ΧΓ Η : δι' ἑκατὸν : ΓΗ ΗΗΗ, σὺν τῆι κομιδεῖ ἀπ' Ἀγελάστου Πέτρας : ΗΔΔ.[42] These bricks had evidently been delivered originally to Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα (and kept there for a while) and now, when needed, were sent on to the Eleusinion in the City; the total cost with transport from Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα is Dr 120.[43] Of most significance to our inquiry is the fact that this transport took place in the sixth prytany, i.e. during the winter. At this time of year we should expect mud bricks to be protected. If the cliff above the cave is the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα, as Rubensohn supposed, it is hard to see why anyone would want to place or store mud bricks there in any season, let alone during the winter. On the other hand, the cave precinct below the cliff would be perfectly suitable to this purpose. The bricks could conveniently be protected within the cave from the weather, and of course they would be more easily accessible there than on the cliff above.[44]

The cave, as I mentioned,[45] is certainly itself a πέτρα and deserves to be examined more closely, to see whether in it or nearby we might identify the actual πέτρα on which Demeter sat. The monuments discovered within this precinct, such as the Lakrateides' relief in honor of the God, the Goddess, and Eubouleus, the relief dedicated by Lysimachides to the God and Goddess, the statue base for Eubouleus, all confirm its underworld character.[46] The cave is undoubtedly the one mentioned in an Orphic Hymn as "the cave of the deme of Eleusis, where the gates of Hades are."[47] The story of Theseus sitting on the Mirthless Rock before descending to the Underworld can easily be imagined within the setting of a cave such as this. And so it seems right to assume that when Apollodorus said that the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα was near (παρά) the Callichoron Well, he was using the preposition παρά, for narrative purposes, from the perspective of a distant observer. (We may compare the scholion to Ar. *Eq.* 785a, which locates Salamis ὀλίγον πρὸ τῆς Ἐλευσῖνος.) Indeed, as one stands within the Greater Propylaea by the Callichoron Well, the somber cave makes a deep impression; it is perhaps the most striking and memorable image that we take with us from the Eleusinian sanctuary. The wall surrounding the precinct calls attention to its special character, as on a smaller scale, the wall around the Callichoron Well sets off this other sacred landmark.[48] This is just the sort of architectural setting in which we should expect to find so sacred a landmark as the Mirthless Rock; it ought not to be a lone rock on the hillside, with nothing around it to draw attention to its sacredness.

We should conclude then that there is some probability that the cave precinct shut off by its imposing wall was referred to as Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα. This would be consistent with the reference in our inscription, which tends to suggest that a certain *area* was called Mirthless Rock: the bricks are to be taken ἀπ' Ἀγελάστου Πέτρας, as though Mirthless Rock was also a toponym, given to the place by the name of a particular rock within it. But whatever its name, somewhere within the precinct, which was near the Callichoron Well, and was evi-

---

circular part of rho can be discerned (damage to the stone or an additional pi that was recut evidently confused earlier editors).

[42] *IG* II² 1672, lines 182–183.

[43] The cost per thousand bricks is Dr 75. Elsewhere in this document we see that the highest cost for making bricks is Dr 40 per thousand (lines 26, 55–56, 56–57). We also see that local transport of bricks within Eleusis varies between Dr 15 and 25 per thousand (lines 23, 58, 59). The high cost in the present instance, Dr 75 per thousand, is of course due to the distance from Eleusis to Athens. I. Sboronos, *JIAN* 4, 1901, pp. 237–254, miscalculated the rate and drew the false conclusion that the Mirthless Rock had to be close to Athens, viz. at Agrai; his error was pointed out by Mylonas, *Hymn*, pp. 84–85.

[44] Repair of the upper, mud-brick parts of walls was being carried out in this year according to the account, and this supply of mud bricks at Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα was no doubt originally intended for this purpose, perhaps for a repair to the peribolos wall of the cave precinct or to another wall in the area.

[45] Above, n. 17.

[46] See above, n. 21.

[47] *Orph. Hymn* 18.14–15: ἄντρον δήμου Ἐλευσῖνος, τόθι περ πύλαι εἴσ' Ἀίδαο.

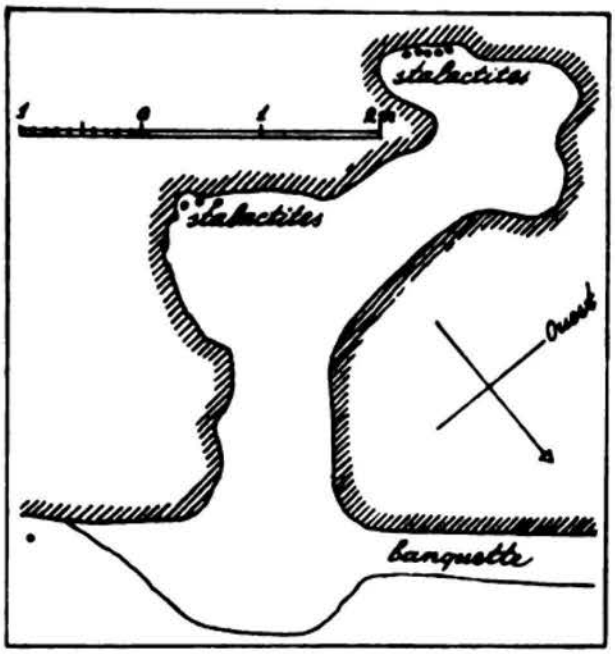
[48] Mylonas, *Eleusis*, p. 98.

dently regarded as an entrance to the Underworld, should be the exact spot where Demeter sat upon her arrival in Eleusis.

We now know more about the nature of the cave thanks to excavations undertaken about twenty-five years ago by a French team under the direction of Paul Faure.[49] One of the cave's important physical features tends to confirm what the inscriptions and reliefs found there have suggested, that the cave was believed to be an entrance to the Underworld. The French excavated a narrow inner cave about 5 meters deep, which proved very difficult to penetrate (*Ill. 4*, no. 6; *Ill. 5*). At the far end they found sacrificial remains of oxen and sheep along with traces of carbon. This inner cave, which is little known, obviously had religious significance, and it is hard to imagine what else this significance might be than that of an opening to the Underworld.

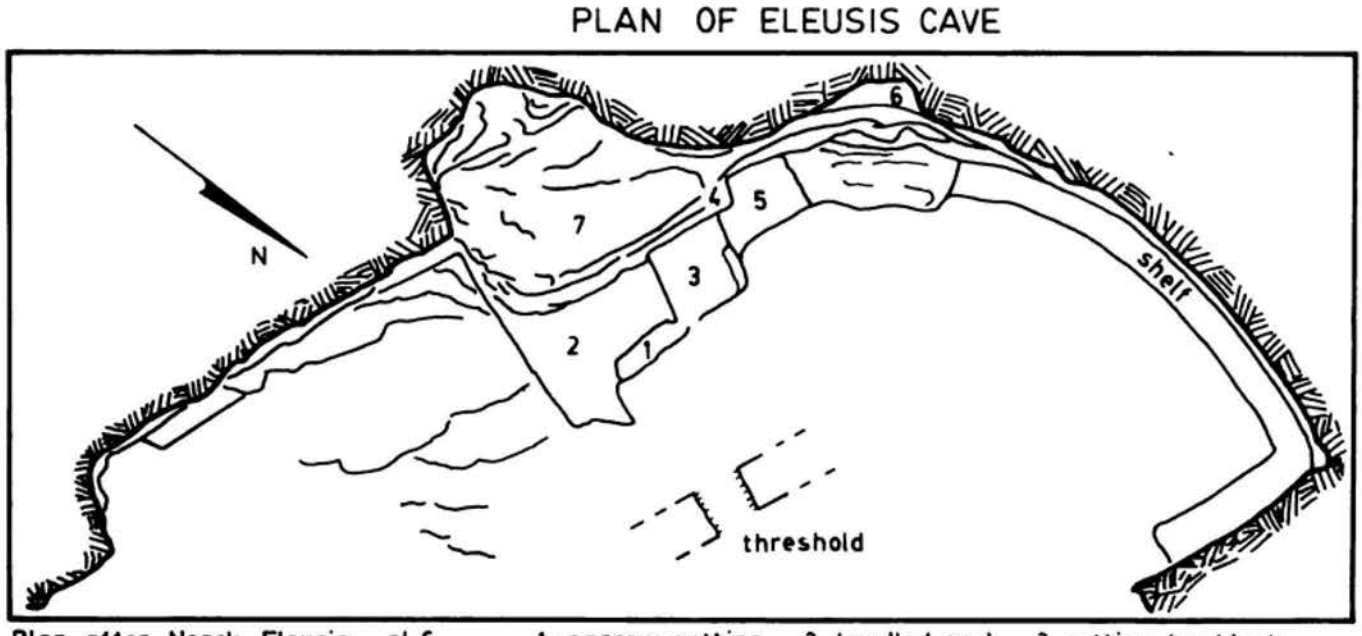
Since this difficult opening was probably thought of as an entrance to the Underworld, we should now be able to look a bit more precisely for the spot where Demeter sat, the actual 'Αγέλαστος Πέτρα.

Within the cave there is a spot where an outcropping of rock forms a natural seat (*Ill. 4*, no. 7; *Ill. 6*). The striking thing about this particular rock, as archaeologists working at Eleusis can attest, is that it is sat upon by members of almost every tour group visiting the sanctuary. If



Ill. 5. Plan of inner cave (P. Faure).

[49] *BCH* 82, 1958, pp. 800–801. I am very grateful to Jere Wickens for informing me of this report.

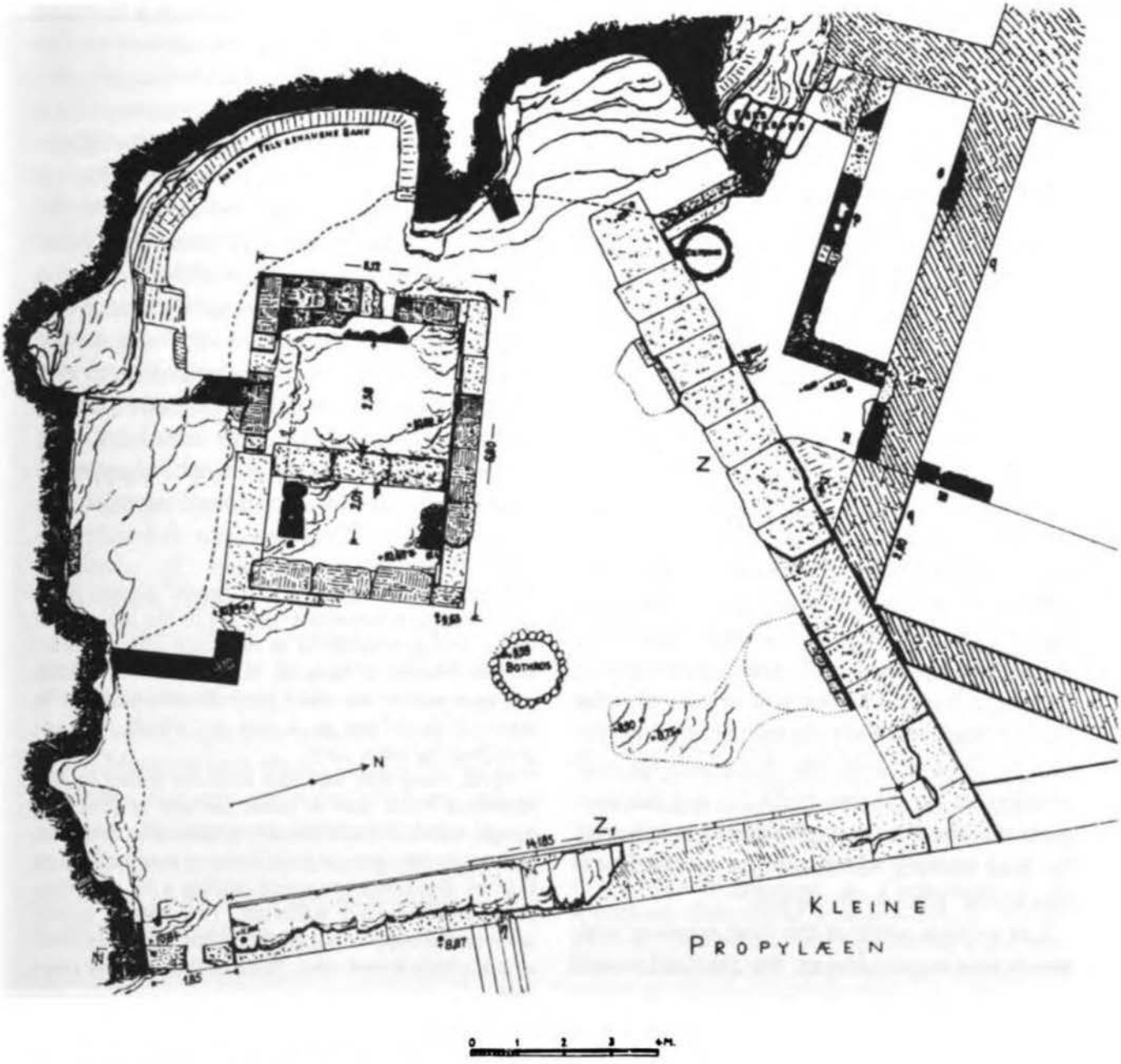


Ill. 4.

Ill. 6. Mirthless Rock, front view.

you walk by while a group of tourists is within the cave listening to their guide, you will invariably notice one or two of them sitting on that outcropping of rock. It is a nearly perfect seat. This rough ledge (*Ill. 4*, no. 7), about 2.5 m. wide and 1 m. deep, begins about a meter to the left of the inner cave excavated by the French (*Ill. 4*, no. 6), and lies about 2.5 m. away from the W corner of the *templum in antis*, just opposite what seems to be a door of the "temple" (*Ill. 4*, "threshold"; *Ill. 7*). It is striking that on either side of this natural seat and just below it the walls of the outer cave have been more or less dressed for various purposes, but the seat itself has been left quite untouched. The working of the cave wall is especially clear in the area that lies to the right of the opening to the inner cave, in the section on Noack's plan labelled "*Aus dem Fels gehauene Bank*" (*Ill. 7*; *Ill. 4*, "shelf"). This seems actually not to be a "bench" but the base or shelf, about 1.6 m. high, to support a revetment for the cave wall; the revetment consisted of blocks of Eleusinian stone cemented together and covered with plaster (as we can infer from the blocks *in situ* at the north return of this shelf). To the left of the natural seat, cutting was carried out for the walls of an enclosure dated by Noack to the Roman period; this enclosure abuts the front end of the *templum in antis*, and the cutting for this enclosure ends close to the left edge of the natural seat. The only cuttings which occur closer to the seat lie below it, but these, labelled 1–4 on the plan (*Ill. 4*), may have served as steps or, at least in one case, as a cavity for the insertion of a stone block.[50] The lowest "step" (no. 1) is exactly opposite what

[50] No. 1 is a narrow cutting in the rock, which may have served as a step; in area no. 2 the rock has been roughly leveled; no. 3 is a cavity into which evidently a stone block was inserted; no. 4 forms a narrow ledge above it and could have served as a step. It is difficult to say whether the block inserted into cutting no. 3 was a step or a base; the latter seems more likely.



Ill. 7. Noack's plan of the cave precinct.

appears to be an entrance (about one meter S of the W corner) of the so-called "temple." This doorway (*Ill. 4*, "threshold") is cut in the poros blocks of the S wall of the building and appears on Noack's plan (*Ill. 7*) as a lightly shaded area. One could proceed out this side doorway and walk directly up to the seat. The special character of the area of the seat is emphasized, first, by the proximity of the "temple" to it—this structure is so close that it lies partly within the cave[51]—and, second, by the paving of the floor of the cave between the seat and the "temple" and between the rear wall of the "temple" and the wall of the cave. In addition, Noack pointed out that the paved area was blocked off between the N corner of the temple and the cave wall.[52]

[51] In antiquity the brow of the cave, now broken away, probably extended even further over the "temple."

[52] Just a few centimeters above the level of the pavement there is a cutting (*Ill.* 4, no. 5), *ca.* 0.64 x 0.60 m., between the seat and the opening of the inner cave (no. 6). But just to the right of this cutting, below the opening to the inner cave the rock has either not been worked or only just slightly. Then, to the

In any event the cave with its natural seat fits all the evidence we possess for the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα, including proximity to a fissure which could easily have been taken to be an entrance to the Underworld.[53] The unworked character of the seat seems to be especially significant. When Oedipus in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* comes to the sacred rock in the sanctuary of the goddesses at Colonus he calls the rock a σεμνὸν ... βάθρον ... ἀσκέπαρνον (100–101), "a holy untooled seat."[54] It was precisely the unworked character of this natural seat at Eleusis that first caught my attention.

When viewed from an opening in the rear of the cave (*Ill. 12*, p. 88), which was evidently associated with the Anodos of Kore, the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα appears to have a rather high, arching back, etched as it were (it is apparently only a natural effect) on the wall of the cave (*Ill. 12*, below, p. 88), so that it takes on a throne-like appearance.[55] Another interesting feature is that part of the wall of the cave that juts out was apparently cut back to improve the line of sight between the Rock and the rear opening, as can be seen in *Ill. 12*, and this suggests that the Rock was connected in cult with the rear opening and reinforces its identification as the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα.[56]

Let us look again at the vase painting with which this inquiry began, the Stanford volute crater (*Figs. 11–14*). On Side A the scene at the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα is on the left, the Mission of Triptolemos with Demeter[57] and Kore on the right; on Side B there are again two scenes, but Dionysus stands at the center; the figure to the right of Dionysus the Raubitscheks take to be an Eleusinian maiden. It is interesting that her dress and its decoration appear to be identical to that worn by the Eleusinian Parthenos facing Demeter on the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα. I think that the Dionysus scene with the female lyre-player and the silen labeled Pom(po)s allude to the cult of Dionysus at Eleusis that was associated with the theater there.[58] The two scenes of the vase allude, topographically as it were, to the two major cults at Eleusis. But the figure of Pan is unexpected. He is part of the scene at the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα, but at the same time he is retreating from it. As the Raubitscheks point out, Pan has no connection with either Demeter or Dionysus in fifth-century art.[59] But surely he too is a local reference. Caves are among Pan's haunts (he had at least one on the hill of Eleusis),[60] and here the figure of Pan looks like an allusion to the cave of the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα. He suddenly finds the angry, sorrowing Demeter in his domain and is eager to flee.

This association of Demeter with cave and rock is not altogether unique. Demeter on the Mirthless Rock bears some similarities to elements of the cult of Black Demeter in Phigaleia.[61] There too Demeter remained in a cavern as she grieved the loss of "Persephone" (and her treatment by Poseidon), but there she

---

right of the opening, Noack's "bench" begins. This unworked spot below the opening to the inner cave might also be considered as the place where Demeter was believed to have sat. But it is not so striking a natural seat as the one I have described above. It more likely served as a step by which one approached the inner cave.

[53] Ovid, *Fasti* 506, says that Demeter sitting on the Mirthless Rock was *et lunae patiens et pluvialis aquae*, which if taken literally implies that the Rock was out in the open, not sheltered as it actually is at Eleusis. But Ovid was surely adding a bit of poetic color to Demeter's suffering. His phrase *gelido saxo*, on the other hand, might incline one to think of a rock within a cool cave. None of this is really relevant.

[54] I am indebted to P.E. Easterling for reminding me of this passage.

[55] I first noticed this curious feature in a photograph in December, 1990.

[56] This rear opening (*Ills. 10–11*) is discussed below, pp. 87–89.

[57] The Raubitscheks suggest she may be Hekate; only a single epsilon of the inscription has survived. But as she holds a scepter and wears a crown she is just right for Demeter (but an unlikely Hekate); the epsilon, of course, at this period fits Demeter's name as well.

[58] See Appendix 6.

[59] H. Walter, *Pans Wiederkehr: Der Gott der griechischen Wildnis*, Munich & Zurich 1980, p. 68, offers as explanation of his motion: "Dionysos und sein Kreis stehen ihm näher."

[60] It was probably near a votive deposit excavated by Travlos next to the Hellenistic fortification on the west hill: *ArchDelt* 16, 1960, cols. 52–55.

[61] Paus. 8.42.1–4.

was actually hidden in the cave (no god knew where she was). It was Pan who discovered her. The Phigaleians set up an image of Demeter within the cave ἐπὶ πέτρᾳ (an image of a woman with the head of a horse).

It is in any case clear that the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα is a major sacred landmark at Eleusis. In the third chapter we will turn to other Eleusinian scenes where it plays an important role. But it is a striking fact that it does not play any role in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. There may be a dim reflection of it in the word that occurs in the description of Demeter sitting inside the house of Keleos: ἀλλ' ἀγέλαστος ἅπαστος ἐδητύος ἠδὲ ποτῆτος πόθῳ μινύθουσα βαθυζώνοιο θυγατρός (lines 200–201). If this is a reflection, we could hardly infer from it the existence of such a monument as the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα.

The nature of the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα suggests that it ought to be a very old landmark within the cult. Indeed, it is easy enough to see how it was a focal point around which the cult of the Mysteria took shape, for it is by the gate to Hades, the very realm on which the cult is focused. Yet the poet of the *Homeric Hymn* does not bother to refer to it: another sign that the *Hymn* is, at heart, not a reflection of the myth of the Mysteries.

III. Callichoron Well

On the Stanford crater the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα on the left marks the beginning of the myth at Eleusis, just as the Triptolemos scene on the right marks the happy end. But we may ask how the Mirthless Rock relates to the Callichoron Well. The Rock is located at the entrance to the sanctuary, as is the Callichoron, where "first the women of Eleusis danced and sang for the goddess (Demeter)," according to Pausanias (1.38.6). This juxtaposition of cave and well suggests a neat opposition—sorrow and song, the sinister and the joyful, death and life. However, in vase painting, just where we might expect such symbolism, the Well (to my knowledge) does not appear at all.[62] Even so, the Well must have had some relation to the Rock. Let us consider Pausanias' statement that the Well was the spot where the women first danced and sang for the goddess. This part of the myth must have taken place before the return of Kore, for surely the women would have danced and sung for *both* goddesses if Kore were back. Presumably, therefore, they danced and sang in order to cheer Demeter in her sorrow.[63] This incident is not mentioned in

---

[62] See Metzger's discussion, *Recherches*, pp. 46–48. He thinks that the Callichoron Well may be represented in a fragment of a lekanis cover in Boston (his no. 34; *LIMC*, Demeter, 401 with pl.), a lekythos in Sofia (our *Figs. 26–28*), and a relief in the Agora (our *Fig. 10*). This seems to me rather doubtful; a well is not clear in any of these scenes. He believes both the Callichoron and the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα to be shown on a hydria in Athens, NM 17297 (our *Fig. 33*); but here too a well seems doubtful while a rock seems fairly clear; the block which he takes to be a sign of a well may reflect a block of stone set into one of the cuttings by the actual Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα (see above, pp. 24–25); the lekythos in Sofia seems to have a similar image.

The lekanis cover in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (Acc. No. 03.877; *LIMC*, Demeter, 401 with pl.), attributed to the Marsyas Painter by K. Schefold, deserves comment. A. Furtwängler & K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, II, Munich 1905, p. 53, described one fragment of it and published a drawing, fig. 24, which was available to Schefold, *UKV*, p. 4, no. 5, whose only comment on the subject matter was: "Die Gottheiten von Eleusis." Furtwängler saw a mystic wand ("bakchos") in the left hand of a male figure; if correct, this would indeed identify the scene as Eleusinian. However, on the photograph kindly sent to me by the Museum this is by no means clear. The figure is holding some kind of leafy branch but it does not seem to be the mystic staff: the characteristic rings are not present (see below, p. 49, n. 102). This figure is facing a woman who is sitting on a base or a step and is holding up her left hand, apparently in greeting, but it is not clear that she is Demeter (she does not have a scepter). In fact, if the scene is Eleusinian, it is unlike any other; and the photograph of another fragment (apparently not available to Furtwängler or Schefold; not shown or mentioned in *LIMC*, Demeter, 401), which shows the lower half of a seated figure, adds to the difficulty of taking it as Eleusinian.

[63] There is a red-figure scene of Demeter, apparently on the Mirthless Rock, being approached by two women, evidently "women of Eleusis," on a hydria

the *Homeric Hymn* (though the Iambe episode within the palace offers a kind of parallel),[64] but the omission is not surprising, in that the singing and dancing probably reflect cultic activities (described below) at the Mysteries, in which the *Homeric Hymn* was not interested.[65] We may conclude then that according to a myth associated with the *Mysteries* it was believed that when Demeter came to Eleusis she sat on the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα, and before her the women of Eleusis sang and danced. Both the Rock (Ἀγέλαστος) and the Well (Καλλίχορον) are named after the cultic/mythic activities associated with them: sorrow and dancing.

Around the Well cultic activities at the Mysteries correspond to the mythic event related by Pausanias. When the procession of initiates arrived from Athens, led by Iakchos, the Reception of Iakchos took place in the court by the well.[66] In Euripides' *Ion* the chorus worry that Ion will take part in this rite, and they sing (1074–1086):

> "I feel ashamed before the god of many songs (Iakchos), if awake in the night by Callichoron's springs he (sc. Ion) views the pilgrim's torch of the twentieth, when also Zeus' starry sky jumps in the dance, when the moon dances and the fifty daughters of Nereus, in the sea and the eddies of ever-flowing streams, dancing for the golden-crowned Kore and her august mother."

The initiates dance in the court by the Well, and the whole world joins in the Dionysiac dance, from the Nereids in the depths of the sea to the stars in the ethereal sky, while Demeter sits on the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα. This dance repeats the mythic dance of the Eleusinian women; its purpose is presumably to bring cheer to Demeter; and the sentiments of the Euripidean chorus are probably close to the feelings of the initiates: they are dancing for the return of Kore, which will truly bring joy to the mother. And this seems to be the real polarity between the Rock and the Well. It is not a polarity between beginning and end of the festival; it is a polarity that exists only at the beginning, between the joy and anticipation of the initiates and the goddess's sorrow. It happens before the initiates enter the sanctuary, before they fully experience her sorrow.

IV. The *Homeric Hymn*: a Re-evaluation

The omission of the Mirthless Rock in the *Homeric Hymn* is one more indication that the *Hymn*'s interest in the Eleusinian Mysteries is secondary.[67] The significance of the Mirthless Rock in the Mysteries ought to go back to the origins of the festival, as the Rock is such a basic landmark, linked to an essential moment in the ritual. Its sacred significance surely does not postdate the *Homeric Hymn*. Its omission from the *Hymn* may help us now to frame a more precise hypothesis about the origin of the *Hymn* and its relation to Eleusis.

In the poem Demeter, when she arrives at Eleusis, sits at the Παρθένιον Φρέαρ (99). Later, when she commands the Eleusinians to build her a temple, she tells them to build it above the Callichoron Well (272). The Parthenion Well seems to be different from the Callichoron, though perhaps only in name. In my study of the *Hymn* I took the different names for the same well as a possible sign of the poet's careless attitude toward Eleusinian geography. Richardson preferred to assume that Parthenion and Callichoron were simply interchangeable names for the well just as in a passage in the Orphic *Argonautica* (729ff.) the

---

in Paris in the Cabinet des Médailles, De Ridder 451, Metzger, *Recherches*, p. 39, no. 29, pl. XVIII.2.

For other scenes of the Mirthless Rock see Appendix 6, p. 121.

[64] On the Iambe episode see below, p. 30.

[65] Euripides' version of the story (*Hel.* 1341–1345) offers a parallel in that the Charites and Muses *sing and dance* before the sorrowing Demeter.

[66] ὑποδοχή: *IG* II² 847; Foucart, *Mystères*, p. 339; Clinton, 'Sacrifice', pp. 23–24; *Sacred Officials*, p. 111.

[67] In my article, 'Author', I often said "Eleusis" when I meant more specifically "Eleusinian Mysteries," but it is important to make the distinction, as the following discussion will show.

same river in Asia Minor is called both Callichoros and Parthenios.[68] I now think that it is only reasonable at least to admit the *possibility* that the well at Eleusis had two names at this early date (like the river in the *Argonautica*) and that the name Callichoron eventually prevailed over Parthenion. So in the *Hymn*, though the poet says Demeter sat at the Parthenion, we may at least assume that she sat at the well we know as the Callichoron. But even so, the *Hymn* does not acknowledge the myth of the Mysteries according to which Demeter should sit at the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα. Why then does the *Hymn* have her sit at the Well? And why is the *Hymn* so distant in this respect from the Mysteries?

If the *Hymn*, as it seems, derives originally from the myth of the Rape as told in the Greek world at large, and if it is really an *aition* of a cult (as is usually assumed), but the cult of Mysteries is of secondary importance to it, of which cult is it an *aition*? That is, if it does not reflect the Mysteries, which festival (if any) does it reflect?

The Mysteries are probably not one of the oldest Demeter festivals. The main argument for the origin of the Mysteries in the Bronze Age is based on remains of a Mycenaean building that lies under the Telesterion. However, even if these remains served a cult, there is no guarantee that the earlier cult was the same. In fact, a recent study of the evidence concluded that these remains most likely did not belong to a proto-Telesterion.[69] At most, some of the remains may attest that a cult existed on the site in the Bronze Age, perhaps a cult of Demeter, but they offer no compelling evidence for a festival such as the Mysteria.

The Thesmophoria, by comparison, have long been known to be very old. The antiquity of this festival is reflected in its geographical distribution all over the Greek world, from Sicily to Asia Minor and from Cyrene to Pantikapaion, and in the long chronological range of our evidence for it, starting from as early as the Archaic period (with many direct or indirect attestations).[70] Martin Nilsson called it "by far the most widespread of all Greek festivals."[71] It was also celebrated at Eleusis.[72] Its early universality and its nature suggest an institution of considerable antiquity. The Eleusinian *Mysteries*, on the other hand, are unique in the Greek world, especially down through the Classical period. Their uniqueness, in contrast to widespread Demeter festivals like the Thesmophoria, urges us to consider seriously the question whether they are a more recent innovation.

The names of the cult personnel of the Mysteries provide no decisive evidence about the origin of the cult, but they would not be inconsistent with a hypothesis that the Mysteries were grafted onto an earlier Demeter cult. The priestess of Demeter and Kore has a title that seems to express greater fundamentality than that possessed by any of the other priests and priestesses at Eleusis: only hers contains the names of *both* gods worshipped there. She was therefore most likely the earliest cult official at Eleusis, in accordance with the general rule at Athens that the original minister of a cult of a god is a priest and of a goddess a priestess.[73] The special personnel for the Mysteria at Eleusis, such as the ἱεροφάντης, δαδούχος,

---

[68] *Hymn*, pp. 327–328; the equation was already suggested by Fürster, *Raub*, p. 32. Cf. A.R. 2.904–908 (the pairing of the river Callichoros with the nearby cave, ᾧ ἐν ἀμειδήτους ἀγίας ηὐλίζετο νύκτας suggests inspiration from Eleusis), 936–939.

[69] P. Darcque, 'Les vestiges mycéniens découverts sous le Télestérion d'Eleusis', *BCH* 105, 1981, pp. 593–605.

[70] Cf. Nilsson, *Feste*, pp. 313–316; Graf, *Feste*, p. 277, n. 47.

[71] Nilsson (above, n. 70).

[72] See Clinton, 'Sacrifice' plus an important testimonium for the Eleusinian celebration pointed out by Foucart, *Mystères*, p. 64: Aeneas Tacticus, 4.8–11, describes an attack by Megarians in the reign of Peisistratus on women celebrating at night the Thesmophoria at Eleusis (νυκτὸς ταῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων γυναιξὶν θεσμοφόρια ἀγούσαις ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι). Whether or not the incident is historical is for our purposes unimportant; the fact is that a celebration of the Thesmoporia at Eleusis was considered unobjectionable. See further discussion in Appendix 5.

[73] Cf. D.D. Feaver, 'The Priesthoods of Athens', *YCS* 15, 1957, pp. 123–158, esp. p. 125.

ἱεροκῆρυξ, etc., have titles that express their very specific technical functions—functions that could have been first conceived long after the beginning of the cult of Demeter, to serve a new ritual for which the competency of the original priestess was no longer adequate.[74]

The character of the Mysteries, featuring a myth presented *within* the cult, is highly unusual for a Greek cult, and this too would be consistent with a hypothesis that extraordinary innovation occurred, which required extraordinary cult personnel with very special functions.

While none of these considerations *proves* that the Mysteria were instituted relatively late, taken together they do at least suggest that this hypothesis is worth exploring.

Let us then assume, for the sake of discussion, that this hypothesis is true. If it is true, we may then ask whether the *Hymn* could reflect a festival that has earlier and deeper roots than the Mysteries. The answer seems to be affirmative, especially when we consider some of the main episodes that occur after the scene at the Callichoron (Parthenion).

The ritual mockery to which the Iambe episode alludes could not have formed a *central* part of the Mysteries; the only mockery attested for the Mysteries is the γεφυρισμός at the river Cephisus as the procession approached the sanctuary.[75] In fact, Apollodorus confirms that the Iambe episode reflects a different festival. After telling the story of Iambe's attempt to make Demeter smile, he says: "That is why they say that the women make jokes at the Thesmophoria."[76] The Iambe episode, as the author of the *Bibliotheca* well knew, is an aition not of the Mysteria but the Thesmophoria. And the alternative episode which we find in some versions of the myth, with Baubo taking the place of Iambe, was shown by Graf to be an aition of ritual in the same festival, the Thesmophoria.[77]

The Demophon episode, too, looks like something that should have little if anything to do with the Mysteries, for it does not express any of the major themes of the cult, such as "sweeter hopes for the afterlife and all time." We shall see in subsequent chapters that nothing like the Demophon scene occurs in artistic representations related to the Mysteries, nor, as we shall also see, is there any room for it in the myth dramatized in the secret rites.[78] Yet it is, as Parker puts it, "the centrepiece of the *Hymn*."[79]

---

[74] *Sacred Officials*, p. 76; Feaver, loc. cit. (above, n. 73); Foucart, *Mystères*, pp. 216–220.

[75] Hesychius, s.v. Γεφυρίς, Γεφυρισταί; Foucart, *Mystères*, pp. 333–335; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, pp. 256–257.

[76] *Bibliotheca*, 1.5.1.

[77] Graf, *Eleusis*, pp. 169–171.

[78] A nursing scene occurs on a fragment of a fourth-century bell crater in Oxford, Metzger, *Recherches*, p. 52, no. 3, pl. XXV/2, but its connection with the Mysteries is dubious; see below, p. 91, n. 146.

[79] Parker, p. 9: "One is reluctant to give the incident, the centrepiece of the *Hymn*, no other function than to provide an *aition* for rites of secondary importance." He is absolutely correct; they should reflect rites of primary importance. His notion that the Demophon episode affords a theological connection to the subsequent foundation of the Mysteries, in that it implies that the failed attempt at immortality ("Demophon stands for us all") leaves open no other possibility for "our prospects for the afterlife," is rather forced (he refers to it very generously as "not quite explicit in the poem"). In fact, extraordinary immortalization of the sort that Demeter attempted on the boy does not reflect well the hopes of the initiates, as the very end of the *Hymn* demonstrates. The ordinary initiate does not seek to become, like Demophon, explicitly ἀθάνατος (though some may have been so presumptuous): he was content with a more modest condition, that is, "good things" in the afterlife (as the *Hymn* says). The immortalization of Demophon is an extraordinary event, attempted for a boy who happened to be in the right place at the right time; it is not presented as even a possible option for mankind in general. Immortalization by fire is a folktale motif, which here serves to highlight Demeter's extraordinary power as nurse.

Another flaw in Parker's analysis is that he attempts to "make sense of the narrative, but in terms less of motives than of results" (p. 11). It would seem to follow that as long as the poet somehow gets to the Mysteries in the end, it does not much matter how he gets there. However, it surely does matter, and the better course is to make sense of motives as well.

In defending the story in the *Hymn* as a reasonably faithful reflection of the Mysteries Parker, p. 16, n. 22, appeals to the "chronological gap, probably at least a century, between the *Hymn* and the

The central act in the Demophon story is nursing. But what nursing could take place in the Mysteries? In Chapter 2 we shall see that although the child Ploutos is an important symbol in the Mysteries, in art we never see him being nursed by Demeter. He is simply there, offspring of Demeter and embodiment of her gifts. However, the Thesmophoria, concerned primarily with fertility and growth, represents the sort of festival where the theme of nurturing is fundamental: in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* the heraldess urges the women at the beginning of their assembly to pray to "the Two Thesmophoroi and Plouton and Kalligeneia and Kourotrophos and Hermes and the Charites...."[80] Kourotrophos, it is clear, belongs to the core of the Thesmophoria.[81] If the Demophon episode is to be linked to a festival, it belongs surely to this festival, not to the Mysteries, for it primarily highlights Demeter's great powers as Kourotrophos and the sad result of human failure to recognize those powers: when the women of the household then attempt to nurse Demophon, they turn out to be "worse *nurses*."

Inscriptions attesting worship of Kourotrophos at Eleusis range from the fifth century B.C. to the Roman empire.[82] It seems significant that the known dedicants are all women (their dedications are small altars).[83] One of the women calls herself Πασικράτους ἄλοχο[ς, a unique way of presenting a husband's name on a dedication at Eleusis, and the gratuitous publication of the husband's name (instead of a patronymic) is also unusual.[84] It is reminiscent of the practice of certifying eligible women for the Thesmophoria by virtue of their marriage to local demesmen.[85] The earliest of these dedications, scratched on a sherd of a fifth-century kantharos, exhibits the humble sort of character shared by thousands of dedications at known sites of the Thesmophoria.[86] These dedications at Eleusis probably derive from the context of the Thesmophoria.

That actual nursing took place at the Thesmophoria is strongly suggested by scenes in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, where a woman nurses an infant (607–608, a wetnurse does the nursing: 690–734, she apparently does it herself). There seems to be nothing comic about this; the joke comes when Mnesilochos snatches the child for his own advantage and eventually discovers that it is a wineskin. Women nursing children at the Thesmophoria are taken for granted in the play.

The centrality of nursing in the Demophon scene is echoed in a Greek myth about Isis which follows the basic pattern of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. According to this story Isis went to Byblos in search of a chest containing the body of Osiris (hidden inside a pillar in the palace of the king). When she arrived in Byblos she sat at a spring, was greeted by the queen's maids, met the queen, and was made nurse of the queen's child. She applied fire to the child, but the queen's spying put an end to the process

---

other, chiefly inscriptional, evidence" which I adduced to show the discrepancies between the *Hymn* and the cult. A necessary consequence of Parker's argument is that the cult underwent more extraordinary changes in the course of this one century or so than it did in all the subsequent centuries of its existence—a strange conclusion to draw about such a conservative institution. The "chronological gap" can explain some things, such as the role of Triptolemos in Athenian imagery, but we should not press it too far.

This is not the place to comment on other arguments in Parker's article, which reached me just before my manuscript went to press, and in any case the matter is somewhat moot. In my article, 'Author', I came to a negative conclusion about the *Homeric Hymn*, viz. that it essentially did not reflect the Mysteries, a conclusion that I still believe to be true; the present study will show that it is indeed "Eleusinian," but in a much expanded sense of the term.

[80] Lines 295–300 Coulon. For the emendation Πλούτω<ν>ι see Chap. 2, n. 131.

[81] Cf. Sfameni Gasparro, pp. 238–239; Beschi, *LIMC*, Demeter, p. 887.

[82] *IG* II² 4967 (= A.N. Skias, *ArchEph* 1896, col. 55, n. 1), 4709, 4717, 4755, 5014.

[83] *IG* II² 4709, 4717, 4755.

[84] *IG* II² 4717. The husband's name usually occurs, if I am not mistaken, in order to indicate a relationship between dedicants or between dedicant and dedicatee, but neither situation obtains here.

[85] Cf. Deubner, *Feste*, p. 57, n. 3.

[86] Cf. Zuntz, pp. 89–108.

of immortalization.[87] Here the myth serves to illustrate one of Isis' famous qualities, expressed frequently and vividly in art—Isis as nurse.[88] The old Greek Demophon story was eminently suited to show off this aspect of the Egyptian goddess.

These two episodes in the *Homeric Hymn*, of Iambe and Demophon, essentially expressive of mockery and nursing, reflect the core of the Thesmophoria. One cannot help but notice, too, that in the *Homeric Hymn*, on the earthly level, the story is essentially about women, an apt expression, in myth, of the milieu of a women's festival like the Thesmophoria. In the poem none of the males, neither King Keleos nor any of the princes, has a role or even speaks. The only male voices emanate from Helios and Zeus; otherwise, on earth, women are in control.[89]

The recognition that the *Hymn* is largely an aition of the Thesmophoria helps to explain another problem: the absence of any reference in it to Athens. The Thesmophoria were a local festival, celebrated in various demes throughout Attica. The festival was not national in the way the Mysteries were (foreigners, e.g., were not invited and could not attend), and it did not play a part in the national propaganda about cultural hegemony.[90] Its context was purely local—at Eleusis a festival of the local women. The *Hymn*, accordingly, mentions only Eleusis.

There is another version of the myth which again has the nursing scene at its center, viz. Hyginus, *Fab.* 147 (Rose). The pattern is the same but the names have changed. The queen is Cothonea (the name perhaps corrupt), her son Triptolemos, her husband Eleusis. This time both parents observed the goddess putting the boy in the fire. Demeter kills Eleusis but gives Triptolemos the gift of grain. After Triptolemos returns from his trip, Celeus (a relative presumably) wants to have him killed, but on Demeter's command gives Triptolemos the kingdom,

> *quod ex patris nomine Eleusinum nominavit, Cererique sacrum instituit quae Thesmophoria Graece dicuntur.*

An almost identical version is found in Lactantius Placidus and Servius, with the ending:

> *ibique oppidum constituit, quod ex patris sui nomine appellauit Eleusium, Cererique primus sacra instituit quae θεσμοφόρια appellantur.*[91]

We need not pay much heed to the names of the characters or even the name of Triptolemos as founder of the Thesmophoria; all this is probably of Hellenistic invention, perhaps from a South-Italian or Sicilian source.[92] What is highly significant is the fact that the Thesmophoria are linked to the nursing of a boy, in which the "Demophon scene" takes a central position. If this late testimony were all we had, we might be sceptical.[93] But it offers one more indication from antiquity that what we have surmised by other means about the myth of the *Homeric Hymn* seems to be right. Hyginus evidently compiled his work in the late second century, using a Greek treatise written not earlier than the reign of Claudius.[94] Although the source is Hellenistic, the link between the "Demophon scene" and the Thesmophoria, as we have seen, must be much older.

The Demophon scene and the kourotrophic

---

[87] Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 15–16 Griffiths.

[88] The images: V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Isis Lactans*, Leiden 1973 (EPRO, 37).

[89] The remark of Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* 2.17.1) is interesting: "This story (viz. the rape of Persephone)," he says, "the women celebrate variously (ποικίλως)—the Thesmophoria, Scirophoria, Arrhetophoria—in different ways celebrating the abduction of Persephone." He seems to mean that the separate festivals elaborate in separate ways the general myth, but the statement does not preclude the possibility that a different form of the myth reflected each of the various Demeter festivals.

[90] It would be wrong to infer from the *Thesmophoriazusae* of Aristophanes that it was a national festival in the sense that all Athenian women came together in one place to celebrate it.

[91] Lact. Plac. ad *Theb.* 2.382 and M2.96ff.; Servius (Danielis) G 1.19. Both passages are printed in Rose's edition of Hyginus, pp. 183–184.

[92] This aspect is discussed further in Appendix 1.

[93] In fact I had long ago so dismissed it that I did not mention it in my lecture.

[94] H.J. Rose, *Hygini Fabulae*, Leiden 1933, pp. i–xi.

aspect of the Thesmophoria perhaps help to explain another difficult aspect of the story in the *Homeric Hymn*, namely the presence of Hekate. This goddess does not appear in our documentation concerning the Mysteries, and it is extremely unlikely that any evidence will ever be found to show that she had a significant role in this cult.[95] In the *Hymn* she helps Demeter in her search for Kore, and after Hermes brings Persephone up from Hades, she joins in celebrating the return of Kore to her mother:

τῆσιν δ' ἐγγύθεν ἦλθ' Ἑκάτη λιπαροκρήδεμνος,
πολλὰ δ' ἄρ' ἀμφαγάπησε κόρην Δημήτερος
ἁγνῆς·
ἐκ τοῦ οἱ πρόπολος καὶ ὀπάων ἔπλετ' ἄνασσα.
(438–440)

Here her role approaches that of a mother or kourotrophos, πολλὰ δ' ἄρ' ἀμφαγάπησε, just as Demeter embraced Kore (436). To Hesiod she was very much a kourotrophos:

θῆκε δέ μιν Κρονίδης κουροτρόφον, οἳ μετ'
ἐκείνην
ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδοντο φάος πολυδερκέος Ἠοῦς.
οὕτως ἐξ ἀρχῆς κουροτρόφος, αἵ δέ τε τιμαί.
(*Th.* 450–452)

West in his commentary cites, among other evidence for Hekate as kourotrophos, a scholion to Aristophanes, *Vespae* 804: ... τῶν Ἀθηναίων πανταχοῦ ἱδρυομένων αὐτὴν ὡς ἔφορον πάντων καὶ κουροτρόφον.[96]

Hekate in the *Hymn* looks like a mythic analogue to the Kourotrophos of cult. In the Thesmophoria the figures Kourotrophos and Kalligeneia are personifications of qualities of Demeter and as such lack color and personality. In story Kourotrophos could hardly be represented by a more picturesque and more appropriate goddess than Hekate Kourotrophos, who had been endowed with poetic vitality at least since the time of Hesiod.

Hermes, who escorts Kore back from the Underworld, is also worshipped in the Thesmophoria, as the heraldess in the *Thesmophoriazusae* proclaims in her prayer.[97]

The scene in the *Hymn* is close to a red-figure scene in New York by the Persephone Painter, in which Kore is emerging from the earth, accompanied by Hermes; she is greeted by Hekate with her two torches, behind whom Demeter awaits calmly, in regal pose, holding her scepter.[98] An inscription assures us that the goddess with torches is Hekate (torches are in fact her usual attribute in vase painting).[99] The painter is working in a tradition that is close to the *Hymn*.

A Classical relief from Miletus provides, apparently, the only sculptural representation of Kourotrophos identified by inscription.[100] From left to right the four standing gods are: Kourotrophos, Leto, Apollo, Artemis. Kourotrophos seems to stand here in the same relation to Leto as she does to Demeter at Eleusis: she personifies a quality of the mother goddess. In this relief she holds a torch, so in artistic attribute too is close to Hekate.

Hekate, therefore, is not so distant from Eleusis as my article on the *Homeric Hymn* made it appear (I was using "Eleusis," as most of us have been accustomed to do, in a much too narrow sense, merely as the site of the Mysteries). If an image of Hekate is to be found at Eleusis, it ought to be within the context of the Thesmophoria, not in the ritual itself but in myth, i.e. in art. In cult the goddess is simply

---

[95] See Appendix 5.

[96] He also refers to an important discussion by O. Kern, 'Elfenbeinrelief aus Kleinasien', *AM* 50, 1925, pp. 157–164, esp. 159, 162. Cf. Brown, p. 47, n. 27.

[97] Above, p. 31.

[98] Metropolitan Museum 28.57.23; *ARV*², p. 1012, no. 1; *Para.*, p. 440; *Add.*², p. 314; Bérard, *Anodoi*, pl. 15, fig. 50; cf. figs. 32, 60; Metzger, *Recherches*, p. 11, no. 7. In emotional warmth the scenes on the vase and in the *Hymn* are rather different; this emotional dimension is not a subject of the painting, which emphasizes the Return as *event*. Hekate's stance here, however, may indicate, as T.H. Carpenter has pointed out to me, that she also participates in the escort; if this is correct, the scene represents a slight variation on the story in the *Hymn*.

[99] Cf. Kraus, pp. 92–94.

[100] According to T. Hadzisteliou Price, *Kourotrophos: Cults and Representations of the Greek Nursing Deities*, Leiden 1978, p. 61, no. [657]; illustration of the relief, Dresden Museum Z.V.1050: *eadem*, *JHS* 91, 1971, pl. IV 8.

Kourotrophos, a maternal aspect of Demeter.[101]

If it is correct, then, that the story of the *Hymn* arose in the context of the Thesmophoria, then it follows that the Callichoron, the Parthenion, or in any event some well, whatever its name, should have some relevance to the Thesmophoria, much more so than the Mirthless Rock. This does seem to be the case. Callimachus at the beginning of his *Hymn to Demeter*, which is set within the framework of women attending the Thesmophoria, mentions the myth of Demeter's wandering and says of her: "... you sat on the ground at the Callichoron Well, and you did not eat nor did you wash."[102] She sat on the ground by the well. Wells or springs are important elements of the Thesmophoria and similar festivals:[103] the spring Cyane at Syracuse, where Kore was taken into the earth;[104] on Cos the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore with its important spring around which Thesmophoria were apparently celebrated;[105] at Agrigento the fountain house of the "Santuario Rupestre" which was probably associated with Thesmophoric ritual at the nearby temple in S. Biagio.[106] Such magnificent sources of water were probably the ideal; more commonly no doubt one had to resort to humbler sources, but pure water was important: purity goes together with fasting, to which at Athens a whole day of the Thesmophoria was devoted, the day called Νηστεία, in the course of which the women would sit on the ground.[107] The same three elements are present in Callimachus' image of Demeter: fasting, sitting on the ground, the well.

It is important to keep in mind that for the Mysteries we can speak of a cult myth, in that a myth was actually presented somehow in dramatic form during the secret part of the rite. But in the Thesmophoria there was no cult myth, for no myth was explicity enacted within the cult. Here it is a question of an aetiological myth, i.e. a myth which serves to explain some of the events of the cult, though of course the women in the cult, as they performed the ritual, must often have felt that they were imitating Demeter. The rite, as it were, followed the *pattern* of the myth. So for an aition of the Thes-

---

[101] Further discussion in Appendix 5.

[102] Lines 15–16; on the ritual beginning cf. N. Hopkinson, *Callimachus, Hymn to Demeter*, Cambridge 1984, pp. 35–43.

[103] Cf. Richardson, *Hymn*, pp. 180–182. In the *Hymn to Apollo*, 110–112, Callimachus ends with the verses: "To Demeter the Melissai do not bring water from every source, but from the one which springs up clear and unstained, a gentle flow from a sacred spring—the choicest and fairest water." The name Melissai, as I think we can deduce from a reference in Porphyry, *On the Cave of the Nymphs*, 18 (καὶ τὰς Δήμητρος ἱερείας ὡς τῆς χθονίας θεᾶς μύστιδας μελίσσας οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐκάλουν), was sometimes used of priestesses or sacred maidens in mystic (cf. μύστιδας) cults of Demeter, i.e. cults such as the Thesmophoria, for in late writers this festival was sometimes described as containing μυστήρια (cf. Schol. Lucian 275.23–24 Rabe).

[104] Diod. 5.4.2; the Syracusans evidently held a festival at this spring in the fall; Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, p. 315, n. 7, took it to be the Thesmophoria, on the basis of the festival's characteristics and timing (but the name has been disputed).

[105] Bibliography in Sfameni Gasparro, p. 266, nn. 164–165.

[106] A. Siracusano, *Il Santuario Rupestre di Agrigento*, Rome 1983, esp. pp. 71–75 (conclusions). Not far from Agrigento is of course the sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros at Selinus with its conspicuous installations for supplying water. For the well in the sanctuary of Demeter at Corinth: R.S. Stroud, 'The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth, Preliminary Report I, 1961–1962', *Hesperia* 34, 1965, pp. 14–15. In contrast to the relative scarcity of hydriai found at Corinth in general, the great abundance of small votive hydriai (hydriskoi) found in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore attest to the recognition among the worshippers of the importance of water in the cult of the goddesses; see E.G. Pemberton, *Corinth* XVIII, 1, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, The Greek Pottery*, Princeton, N.J. 1989, pp. 9–12; she notes, ibid., p. 12, n. 12 (with bibliography), the popularity of votive hydriai at Kyparissi in Cos and at Cydonia and Cnossos in Crete. (I owe these Corinthian references to the kindness of N. Bookides.)

In the Thesmophorion at Bitalemi by Gela little hydriai ("le piccole hydriai," presumably similar in size to the hydriskoi at Corinth) were also one of the most popular vase types; in the earliest phase of the sanctuary they were the most common type; see P. Orlandini, *Kokalos* 12, 1966, pp. 3–35, esp. 22, 26. Orlandini, ibid., p. 26, n. 35, notes that hydriai were also very frequent in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Francavilla Marittima.

[107] On this day cf. Deubner, *Feste*, pp. 55–56. There

mophoria (and other festivals) it matters simply that Demeter sat at a well or a source of water; its name will change according to the locality of the myth.[108] In an Eleusinian setting an aition of the Thesmophoria would naturally make use of the local Callichoron/Parthenion Well. Actually, in the case of the Thesmophoria the name used in the *Hymn*, Parthenion, seems more appropriate than Callichoron, since the Thesmophoria may not have included dancing, but we know that παρθένοι did take part (the modern assumption that only married women could take part in the festival is contradicted by a passage in Lucian).[109]

On the whole, then, it seems right to conclude that the core episodes of the *Hymn to Demeter* do not reflect the cult myth of the Mysteries but are *aitia* of the Thesmophoria

---

is no evidence, so far as I am aware, of drinking the Kykeon at the Thesmophoria, but that is probably accidental, as our evidence for the ritual, with the exception of the scholion to Lucian, is very scrappy. In view of the fasting that is such an important part of the Thesmophoria, it would be surprising if the *Kykeon* were absent, for it was a fairly common drink, just right for this situation; cf. Richardson, *Hymn*, Appendix IV, 'The Cyceon (*Dem.* 208ff.)', pp. 344–348. And it would be appropriate in another way as well. J. Scarborough, 'The Pharmacology of Sacred Plants, Herbs, and Roots', in *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, eds. C.A. Faraone & D. Obink, Oxford 1991, pp. 139–174, esp. 144–145, notes, with regard to the γλήχων in the Kykeon: "Pennyroyal apparently retained its quasi-mythical associations with the functions of birthing and nursing the newborn for many centuries, as attested by Soranus' recommendation of its strong, sweetish odor (somewhere between peppermint and camphor) in the delivery chamber." Soranus *Gynecology*, II.2.2 Ilberg, p. 51. (S.I. Johnston kindly brought Scarborough's article to my attention.) In the *Hymn* Demeter drinks the Kykeon ὁσίης ἕνεκεν (211), "for the sake of the rite," and Richardson, pp. 225–226, notes the "difficulty in Demeter's doing something for the sake of a rite which she is at the same time founding." The awkwardness disappears, however, if the drinking is an aition of a ritual in a pre-existing festival, viz. the Thesmophoria.

In fact, I am somewhat sceptical that the Kykeon was a part of the Mysteries. The evidence is the σύνθημα given by Clem. *Protr.* 2.21.2, but it occurs right after Clement's Baubo episode which Graf (above, n. 77) has shown belongs with the Thesmophoria. It seems likely that Clement's source confused the "μυστήρια" which occurred in the Thesmophoria (above, n. 103) with the real Mysteria; on Clement's source, a treatise Περὶ Μυστηρίων, see C. Riedweg, *Mysterienterminologie bei Platon, Philon und Klemens von Alexandrien*, Berlin 1987, pp. 116–120. On the whole the σύνθημα seems more appropriate to a festival like the Thesmophoria (consider especially the emphasis on Νηστεία). Mylonas, *Eleusis*, pp. 300–301, points out that the Kalathos does not occur in connection with the Mysteries (the coins cited by Richardson, p. 23, n. 1, do not change that picture). The Kalathos is a prominent feature of the Thesmophoria.

[108] In the Isis myth as told by Plutarch (*de Iside et Osiride* 15 Griffiths; see above, pp. 31–32) the spring by which Isis sits has no name (it is merely κρήνη). As the story became attached to Isis at a late date, there undoubtedly was no famous local well at Byblos that could be employed.

In my article, 'Author', p. 48, I proposed that the story of the rape of Kore was a standard one which occurred all over the Greek world, but the author of the *Hymn* gave it a "partly Eleusinian setting; he may have been an initiate, but he was not deeply interested in Eleusis." By Eleusis I meant "the Mysteries," a much too narrow sense, as is now clear. Otherwise I see no reason to change this view, except that, as the present study will show, the last clause should read: "but he did not present the myth of the Mysteries." Parker, p. 6, replies that we must resist seeing the *Hymn* as a standard epic account of the Rape of Kore, "on which a certain number of patches of local Eleusinian colour have been stitched. On the contrary, if one removes Eleusis, the poem falls to pieces." This is hard to follow. If instead of the names of Eleusinians and Eleusinian topography we substituted, e.g., the appropriate Argive names (or Sicilian, etc.), and omitted the gift of the Mysteries, it is hard to see why the poem would "fall apart." Surely it would not fall apart as a poem. It would merely lose its reference to Eleusis, and it would end quite appropriately with the return of grain to the fields.

[109] *Dial. Meret.* 2.1. In light of this Deubner assumed that admission was opened up in the Roman period, but Men. *Epit.* 249–250 suggests otherwise, viz. that it was always open to unmarried women past puberty. For maidens in (most probably) the Thesmophoria at Catana: *aditus enim in id sacrarium non est viris; sacra per mulieres et virgines confici solent* (Cic. *Verr.* 4.99); cf. Nilsson, *Feste*, p. 316, n. 2. Ar. *Thesm.* 330 (εὐγενεῖς γυναῖκες) is not sufficient evidence to show that all παρθένοι were excluded at Athens.

and similar festivals of women.[110]

The *Hymn* therefore is not so superficially connected with Eleusis as I proposed in my earlier study; indeed, the *Hymn*'s Eleusinian frame of reference is more ancient than that of the Mysteries. I also reasoned that the *Hymn* was probably not composed for an Attic audience steeped in the tradition of the Mysteries. This misses the mark. As we have seen and shall see in the course of the present study, in Eleusis and the Eleusinian sanctuary other festivals also took place, not least among them the Thesmophoria. The sort of story told by the *Homeric Hymn* would therefore not be so alien to Athenian sensibilities as I implied: Athenians would have recognized its relevance to the Thesmophoria.[111] The myth of the Mysteries differed in some ways, but it was special and surrounded by an aura of secrecy, and differences were to be respected. In fact, the *Homeric Hymn* does not claim to tell the myth of the Mysteries; the Mysteries enter only at the end, as a reward, a new foundation.

In literary terms, the poem moves from the dishonor done to Demeter toward the regaining of honor (τιμαί) for herself and her daughter.[112] With their honor regained, Demeter then honors men, by bringing about the rebirth of grain and the beginning of a new festival. In religious terms, the poem gives mythic form to central elements of the Thesmophoria and to characteristics of its goddess. It highlights, to mention the most prominent image, Demeter as Kourotrophos, while her power over the fer-

---

[110] A.A. Peredolskaya, in an important monograph, *Attische Tonfiguren aus einem südrussischen Grab*, Basel 1964 (AntK, Beiheft 2), associated themes expressed in terracottas found in the grave of a woman on the peninsula of Taman near the Bosphorus with various events which she believed took place in the cult drama of the Mysteries. In doing this she described how these events reflect various episodes in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. The terracottas, however, insofar as they do suggest a Demeter cult, really show nothing that definitely pertains to the iconography of the Mysteries; they express fertility and parody, and point therefore to the Thesmophoria. And so it is understandable that Peredolskaya could so readily relate these motifs to a work like the *Homeric Hymn*.

[111] Another Attic example: Pamphos, who Pausanias says antedated Homer (8.37.9) and "wrote the most ancient hymns for the Athenians" (7.21.9; 9.29.8), put the fetching of Demeter by the women of Eleusis at the Anthion Well (a well on the road to Megara, known to Pausanias). (Pausanias also knows a version which he calls "Homeric," but all he gives us of it is the names of the three daughters of Keleos, different from those that appear in our "Homeric" version.) Pamphos seems to be a local poet, or at least a poet close to Attica, working with the same tradition that has come down to us in the so-called "Homeric" versions, but he apparently did not make major changes: Demeter is an Argive woman; she sits at the Anthion Well instead of the Callichoron, is fetched from the Anthion by the daughters of Keleos, and is given Metaneira's son to rear. It is unlikely that the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα was part of the poem, for she went from the Anthion directly to the house of Metaneira, and it does not seem to make sense to have her go first to the Mirthless Rock and then backtrack to the Anthion Well (toward Megara) before going to Metaneira. Evidently, at least in this part of the story, Pamphos produced minor variations but not a story that reflected the Mysteries. Apollodorus, too, used an epic version (cf. Foerster, *Raub*, pp. 54–58; Richardson, *Hymn*, p. 71), but one with some striking differences from the *Hymn to Demeter* including the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα. In Apollodorus the transition from the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα to the house of Keleos is not completely clear, but apparently Demeter is not fetched. This version of course is closer to the cult myth of the Mysteries but it still has incompatible elements, and the author feels obliged to point out the relation of the Iambe episode to the Thesmophoria. The fame of the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα had by the Roman period evidently caused it to enter into versions of the myth derived from the epic tradition and the Thesmophoria.

[112] For an excellent literary study of the *Hymn* (with full bibliography) see Clay, *Olympus*, pp. 202–266. I am not, however, as inclined as she is to see in Zeus' sanctioning of the marriage of Hades and Persephone a cosmic plan for uniting the upper and lower world. Zeus' thinking is not described in the poem. He gave Kore to Hades (lines 78–81) simply, it seems, as a favor to a brother who needed a wife; the poet does not suggest Zeus gave any more thought to it than that Kore ought not to complain about such a worthy mate. This male thoughtlessness of course contributes to the dishonor.

tility of the fields, clear throughout, is reaffirmed in the triumphant ending. Τὼ Θεσμοφόρω promote the generation and growth of both children and the grain. But now, we see, the Two Goddesses have taken on an additional role; as creators and sponsors of a new festival, they will put their age-old nursing powers to new use, in nursing their new cult in the time to come—a role which Sophocles picks out for praise in *Oedipus at Colonus*: πότνιαι σεμνὰ τιθηνοῦνται τέλη θνατοῖσιν (1050–1052).

* * *

At the Mysteries the dancing at the Callichoron is for the benefit of Demeter sitting on the nearby Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα, in happy anticipation of the return of Kore; the initiates evidently hope that their joy upon their arrival may sooth her sorrow. But it does not. The next day when they enter the sanctuary in the darkness they experience the terrors of the initiation. The first of these terrifying moments was surely felt as they passed by the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα. When the door of its peribolos is open, the passer-by has a good view of the Rock (*Ill. 8*). So the initiates may have had a glimpse of Demeter sitting in sorrow as they pushed forward in the darkness to the Anaktoron. Heroic initiates who actually sat on the Rock, like Theseus, gained from it the θάρσος they needed to make the journey to Hades.[113] To human initiates the whole experience in the rite provided "sweeter hopes for the end of life," that is to say a rather similar result: encouragement for the journey to Hades, finding Kore, and enjoying the special favors of her protection. At the beginning of this experience, by the Well and the Rock, the initiate passed from a state of joy upon arrival to experiencing upon entering the shrine Demeter's sorrow, and the initiate's sorrow was no doubt sharpened in coming so soon as it did upon the singing and dancing by the Well.

Ill. 8. Mirthless Rock, side view.

---

[113] Theseus: above, p. 16. The pseudoplatonic *Axiochus*, 371e, mentions that "Dionysus and his companions, when descending to Hades, were, according to the story, first initiated in the Mysteries, and they received their courage (θάρσος) for the journey from the Eleusinian goddess."

II

Eleusinian Gods

I. Introduction

The iconography of Demeter and Kore (as a pair) seldom causes problems,[1] but there is still much disagreement about such major figures as Iakchos, Eubouleus, and Eumolpos. So long as their iconography is unclear, much of the cult and its mythology will be inaccessible to us. (For the sake of simplicity I refer to these figures as gods. Although some appear in epic poetry and so have a right to be called heroes, all of them, as well as Triptolemos, receive divine cult.)[2]

Modern discussions of these figures often suffer from insufficient attention to all of the evidence available to us for the cult and its gods. The works of Nilsson, Mylonas, and Metzger are among the exceptions to this tendency. But despite their important contributions, the interpretation of critical documents remains unresolved, and the iconography of important gods still elicits debate and doubt.[3] In a recent article Metzger returned to the problem of the iconography of these figures and proposed a rather complex solution.[4] Before resorting to such complexity, however, we need to reexamine the possibility of a simpler, more consistent iconography, and this is best done by pressing forward along the paths already taken by these scholars, through study of all the documentation.

In doing this we obviously must follow methods that are likely to lead to certain or at least probable results. Although the following methodological principles may seem so self-evident that they hardly need to be stated, they are violated so often in modern discussions of Eleusinian gods that it seems appropriate to indicate how the present inquiry will proceed. First, instead of attempting to *guess* the identity of a figure according to our personal conception of what its proper iconography ought to be, we will begin with documents in which the identity of the figure is certain or highly probable. The information gained from such identifications can then be applied to works of art in which the identification is not so clear. Second, we will refrain, at least initially, from using

---

[1] See especially Peschlow-Bindokat; Beschi, *LIMC*, Demeter, pp. 884–890. Most typically Demeter holds a scepter and Kore one or two torches, but there are also other arrangements of attributes.

[2] For the evidence of cult see below, pp. 47 (Triptolemos), 56 (Eubouleus), 64–67 (Iakchos), 75 (Eumolpos). On the distinction between hero and god cf. A.D. Nock, 'The Cult of Heroes', *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, II, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, pp. 575–602, esp. 576–579 (= *HThR* 37, 1944, pp. 141–174). His list of "heroes" spoken of as gods, ibid., p. 578, probably represents only a small fraction of the group. Theseus, for example, received divine cult (*IG* II² 956, etc.) and was probably also called a god. On Triptolemos Nock comments, p. 579, n. 21: "Triptolemus, though in popular legend an heroic figure, had a share in divine cultus. I am inclined to regard him as from the beginning a subordinate deity humanized by mythology...."

[3] 'Gottheiten', pp. 542–623.

[4] Metzger, 'Valeur'.

non-Attic works of art to establish the appearance of gods who are specifically Athenian. Non-Attic documents of course should not be altogether ignored, but they should not be given priority over Attic documents. This order of priority seems to be especially called for in the case of the Mysteries, a festival which is unique to Attica, rooted, as it was believed, in Attic earth. Third, we should expect a reasonable degree of consistency in the iconography, not absolute consistency of course: we have to allow for changing styles of dress, the idiosyncrasies of artistic purpose, and the possibility that a god may have several identifying attributes not all of which appear in the same representation or are necessary in a particular context.

II. The Youth in the Great Eleusinian Relief

The naked boy who stands as the central figure of the Great Eleusinian Relief (*Fig. 1*) has stirred up controversy ever since the relief was discovered in 1859, a controversy that plays itself out against a backdrop of widespread belief that the figure is Triptolemos.[5] In recent years the controversy has quickened a bit and the question is generating the sort of attention it received toward the end of the last century.[6]

There is at least (virtually) unanimous agreement about his status as deity. Though not nearly as tall as the two goddesses, the boy is nevertheless rendered on the same scale and not reduced to the typical size of a worshipper. Here, as the object of the affectionate attention of the Two Goddesses, he is clearly at home in their company, a god among gods.

Before attempting to establish his identity, it will be necessary to review some facts about the relief.

It has been observed that Demeter's gesture towards the youth cannot indicate that she is handing something to him; the relatively open position of her fingers suggests that she is not holding anything at all. More specifically, H. Metzger confirmed beyond any doubt that she cannot be seen as handing over stalks of grain made of metal.[7] He asked P. Bruneau to examine carefully the hands of Demeter and the youth and to report his observations. The description which Metzger received from Bruneau is so fundamental to any discussion that I reproduce it here in translation:

> Of Demeter's right hand one sees four fingers, the uppermost having left a very clear trace where it was broken off. As this uppermost finger cannot be a thumb (the finger is too long and its position would be impossible), the [visible] fingers are: the index, middle, ring, and little finger. Above the trace corresponding to the index finger, there is no trace of a thumb. One must therefore acknowledge that the thumb, invisible, was turned in behind Demeter's palm. As for the index finger of 'Triptolemos,' it was extended towards Demeter ([its outline] where it was broken off [*l'arrachement*] is perfectly visible), the thumb was either extended or bent, the three other fingers curled over the palm.... These positions of the hands exclude, in my opinion, the transfer of grains of wheat, because the stalks cannot be held in the hollow of the goddess's hand, nor can they consequently be slipped into Triptolemos' hand. And if there was a single stalk, it had to be held between the index finger and the thumb. But this is out the question both for Demeter and for Triptolemos. The hypothesis of stalks of bronze is absolutely to be eliminated: there is not a single trace of attachment and it would be necessary for Demeter's hand to have a cavity to permit the stalks to slip through in order for them to appear held in her hand: the hand is not hollowed out.... I cannot also firmly eliminate the hypothesis of painted stalks, but it seems to me that the illusionistic effect would have been dubious, at least in the case of Triptolemos, since the stalks would have had to be painted on the palm of his hand.[8]

---

[5] Triptolemos: most recently J. Travlos, *Attika*, fig. 174.

[6] Over the years the figure has been interpreted as Eubouleus, Iakchos, Nisos, a Child Initiate from the Hearth (παῖς ἀφ' ἑστίας μυηθείς), an ordinary initiate (μύστης), a nobleman, Ploutos, or a victor in the Eleusinian games. For a survey of opinion to 1968 see Metzger, 'Relief', pp. 113–114.

[7] Metzger, 'Relief', pp. 114–116.

[8] The critical part of the original, Metzger, 'Relief', p. 114: " 'De la main droite de Déméter on voit quatre doigts, le supérieur ayant laissé un très net arrachement. Ce doigt supérieur ne pouvant être un pouce (le doigt est trop long et la position serait im-

Bruneau's description presented both fact and opinion. Let us consider the facts. First, it is a hard and immutable fact that Demeter's hand consists of solid marble. Second, there are no holes above it on the background of the relief for the attachment of metal stalks. Obviously she did not hold metallic stalks of wheat and therefore cannot be understood as passing such stalks to the youth. This is a fact. It is also consistent with the rather open position of her hand, which suggests she held nothing at all, not even stalks of grain painted on the background. But we may now ask whether her gesture could represent the moment immediately *after* she has given grainstalks to the boy? Her hand, with at least four fingers extended, can give the impression that she has just put something in his hand and is withdrawing. However, it is just as possible to see her as reaching toward something in the boy's hand. My inclination is to take it in this way, as a positive act, reaching toward the boy's hand, which would be more meaningful than a withdrawal.

The next question is whether, on the other hand, metallic stalks of grain could have been held by the *youth* (a question which Bruneau did not completely address). There are no holes for the attachment of metallic stalks. A single stalk or a small number of stalks is impossible (*Fig. 2*): the position of his fingers would allow it (or them) to slip through his grasp. However, if his thumb was bent toward his curled fingers, he could have held a *large* number of stalks bunched together, so tightly pressed against his thumb and fingers that they could not slip out.

The other matter which Bruneau discussed was whether stalks could have been painted. On this he presented his opinion, no facts. Certainly, seen up close, the illusionistic effect of paint would be of no use; but we should be wary about letting our sensibilities in this matter delimit the possibilities. We do not know where the relief was set up; it may have been, for all we know, viewed only from a distance. Paint, therefore, cannot be ruled out with regard to the boy's hand.

No one can doubt, however, that the hands of Demeter and the boy are involved with some object. Considering the agrarian character of the Two Goddesses and the Eleusinian setting, it is hardly likely that the youth was holding anything but stalks of grain. The only doubtful matter is whether they were of metal and held by pressure or of marble and glued to his hand (as O. Palagia suggested to me) or painted.[9]

Crucial to the identity of the youth is an estimation of his age. Though represented on the same scale as the goddesses, his head does not quite reach the level of their shoulders. This seems to be significant; it allows us from our own experience to give a fairly precise estimate. Children of thirteen years, if their parents' heights are within the normal range, are usually *significantly* taller than the shoulder level of their mother. The boy, then, even if we set ample limits, is hardly older than thirteen or younger than ten. An age of eleven or twelve seems right. Yet such scientific precision was probably not in the mind of the artist. Classical artists customarily indicated age by *relative* size. While it suits our scientific instincts to say he is about eleven or twelve years old, the artist probably only had a boyish age in mind (i.e., older than a small child). The boy is, in any case, well below the age of an Athenian ephebe (18 years).

We may now consider his identity. In a recent survey of Triptolemos scenes I.K. and A.E. Raubitschek found this one unusual.[10]

---

possible), ce sont les index, majeur, annulaire et auriculaire. Au-dessus de la trace correspondant à l'index, il n'y aucune trace de pouce. Il faut donc admettre que le pouce, invisible, était replié derrière la paume de Déméter. Quant à l'index de "Triptolème," il était tendu vers Déméter (l'arrachement en est parfaitement visible), le pouce était soit tendu, soit replié, les trois autres doigts recourbés sur la paume... Ces positions des mains excluent, à mon avis, la remise des grains de blé, car ceux-ci ne peuvent être contenus dans le creux de la main de la déesse ni être glissés ensuite dans celle de Triptolème, et si le grain était unique, il devait être tenu entre l'index et le pouce. Or, ce n'est le cas ni de Déméter, ni de Triptolème.' "

[9] O. Palagia has advised me of the use of glue on the Parthenon pediments.

[10] Raubitschek, 'Mission', p. 115: "The great relief

B.S. Ridgway, in a book which appeared almost simultaneously, argued that the identification as Triptolemos is impossible.[11] Several years earlier Metzger had come to the same conclusion.[12]

Ridgway's and Metzger's objections are absolutely decisive. In the first place, the figure lacks Triptolemos' attributes, especially his winged wagon. Secondly, Bruneau and Metzger demonstrated that Demeter was not *handing* anything to Triptolemos in this scene, so that even in the absence of the wagon the scene should not make us think immediately of the mission of Triptolemos. Thirdly, the nakedness would be unique for Triptolemos in *fifth-century* vase painting; in Attic sculpture it *never* occurs. Fourthly, a Triptolemos as boy does not occur in Attic art: normally he is as tall as the two goddesses and in any case always an adult.

That should be enough to settle the matter. However, L. Beschi in *LIMC*[13] and G. Schwarz in a monograph on Triptolemos[14] recently repeated the view that the figure is Triptolemos, without responding to some of Metzger's and Ridgway's most important arguments.[15] Beschi and Schwarz base their view primarily on some *exceptional* scenes which they believe show Triptolemos *without* his chariot. In view of the monographic length of Schwarz's publication and the stature of *LIMC* it would be rash to proceed without reexamining the evidence for the attributes of Triptolemos.

The Attributes of Triptolemos

A vehicle is his most important attribute in Attic art. It is a wagon, but it frequently looks merely like a seat with wheels; it is often winged, often accompanied by snakes; but in a couple of instances Triptolemos sits simply in a winged chair.[16] Of 11 sufficiently preserved reliefs (apart from the Great Eleusinian Relief)[17] eight are from Eleusis. All the reliefs from Eleusis show Triptolemos with his well known wagon or winged throne,[18] and this attribute appears on the other reliefs as well (a relief from the Agora, probably from the Eleusinion; one from the Acropolis;[19] and the Mondragone relief, whose connection with Eleusis is uncertain.[20]) A relief in Copenhagen, evidently from the Piraeus, which according to Schwarz constitutes an exception, is actually of no value.[21] It shows four gods essentially without attributes: from left to right, an adult beardless male, two goddesses, then a bearded god. Schwarz believes that the beardless god may be Triptolemos,[22] and couples her discussion of it with her interpretation of the Great Eleusinian Relief. M. Meyer has now convincingly shown that the relief represents Asclepius and members of his family: the beardless god must be one of Asclepius' sons.[23]

In any case it seems significant that all reliefs from Eleusis, except for the Great Relief, show Triptolemos with his special vehicle.

---

from Eleusis ... is strictly Eleusinian and does not seem to have influenced the representation of the Mission of Triptolemos on vases which were painted in Athens."

[11] *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton 1981, pp. 138-140.

[12] Metzger, 'Relief'.

[13] *LIMC*, Demeter, 375.

[14] Schwartz, *Triptolemos*, pp. 192–196.

[15] In Beschi's case partly, no doubt, for reasons of space.

[16] Cf. Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, p. 247. M. Robertson, 'Two Pelikai by the Pan Painter', *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 3, 1986, pp. 74, n. 10, reminds us, following Metzger, that the vehicle "whether winged or not, ... is a chair or stool with wheels." This is true, but it is not clear that people in antiquity thought of it that way: Aristides, *Eleusinios*, 19.4 (Keil), called it a chariot, ἅρμα, Pseudo-Apollodorus, 1.5, a δίφρος.

[17] Of the fifteen reliefs listed by Schwarz the following three are too fragmentary to permit identification: R 2 and R 7 from Eleusis, R 4 from the Agora (S 1045).

[18] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, R 9–16.

[19] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, R 6 (= Agora S 1013) and R 3 (= Acropolis Museum 1348).

[20] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, R 8. On the alleged connection with Eleusis see below, p. 137, No. 5.

[21] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, R 5 (= Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek I. N. 1430)

[22] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, pp. 196–198.

[23] 'Ein frühes Weihrelief für Asklepios und Hygieia', *JdI* 102, 1987, pp. 213–224.

Attic vase painting is the most abundant source of Triptolemos scenes, with black-figure offering 17 usable examples.[24] The earliest scene, an amphora fragment from Locri in the manner of Exekias, happens to be one of the most interesting.[25] Demeter has mounted a wagon and taken the reins, but is still holding a bunch of grain stalks. Next to her a bearded Triptolemos stands on the ground (with his name inscribed), and gazes at her; he too is holding up prominently a bunch of grain stalks. The scene is fragmentary and difficult to interpret. More of it might have shown us the relation of Triptolemos to the wagon, a relation which I suspect is critical to the interpretation. He and Demeter seem to form a pair with a special purpose, as do perhaps also Athena and Heracles on their right. We would like to know Demeter's destination.[26] "Ploutodotas" stands at the far right, but it seems unlikely that she is going to him; for the wagon suggests a journey. In any case, this scene offers no parallel to the figure in the Great Eleusinian Relief.

In all other sixteen black-figure scenes Triptolemos has a vehicle, usually a winged throne, once simply a throne on wheels.[27] In at least thirteen scenes he is bearded, and frequently he holds a scepter or staff; in almost every case he holds stalks of grain. What the black-figure scenes show most clearly is that Triptolemos' special vehicle was his attribute at least as early as the third quarter of the sixth century, and he continued to possess it consistently, appearing with it in all subsequent scenes.

(The eight Panathenaic vases do not change this picture.[28])

Of the 111 scenes on red-figure and relief vases,[29] 98 are usable, the rest being either unpublished or too fragmentary to permit an identification or determination of all attributes (some of these figures may indeed be Triptolemos).[30] Two of the 98 scenes actually represent not Triptolemos but other figures (evidently Theseus in one case, Eumolpos in the other); the first of these we shall discuss in a moment, the second in the next chapter in connection with Eumolpos.[31] All other 96 scenes show Triptolemos with his vehicle, sometimes winged, sometimes with snakes; once he is on a winged throne, but he always has his special mode of transport—except in one case which we will also discuss in a moment. In the red-figure scenes Triptolemos no longer has a beard (with one exception),[32] but he has a scepter or both scepter and phiale, and many scenes show him holding stalks of grain. *He is always an adult*, sometimes a youngish adult but there never is any doubt about his adulthood.

Of the three examples that I have just mentioned, in which the winged wagon or throne does not appear, examples which Beschi and

---

[24] Of 22 black-figure scenes collected by Schwarz, three are unpublished and two are too fragmentary. Fragmentary: V 6 (= Acropolis 675) and V 17 (= Agora P 19879). Unpublished: V 18–19, 22. Beazley, *Para.*, p. 151, is hesitant about taking the figure in V 6 as Triptolemos.

[25] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 1: *ABV*, p. 147, no. 6; *Add.*², p. 41, conveniently illustrated in Metzger, *Recherches*, pls. I.2, II and Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, pl. 33a (whose interpretaion, ibid., p. 78, seems to me unlikely).

[26] It is sometimes suggested that Demeter is driving the wagon toward Ploutodotas. However, he appears to be in the same plane as Athena, Heracles, and Hermes: his scepter stands *behind* Hermes' left arm; part of the himation draped over his right arm also lies behind Hermes' left arm.

It is not clear whether the genitive case of the inscription Ἀθενᾶς has significance. In addition, the spelling (instead of Ἀθεναίας) is quite unusual at this early date; cf. L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, Berlin 1980, p. 272.

[27] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 2, fig. 1 (= neck amphora, Göttingen, Universitätssammlung, J.14).

[28] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 23–30.

[29] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 31–138, 149–150, 153–154. Two additional unpublished red-figure vases with Triptolemos are described below, pp. 71, 106, *Figs. 38–41, 43–47*.

[30] Fragmentary: Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 59, 74, 114, 123. Unpublished: V 33, 38, 57, 72, 75, 90, 91, 106, 133. In addition, Schwarz lists as uncertain V 131, 132a, and 132b, which indeed do not represent Triptolemos; see below, p. 138, Nos. 2–4.

[31] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 79 (neck amphora, British Museum E 274), on which see below, p.76 and Catalog, Eumolpos in Attic Vase Painting, No. 12.

[32] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 54, fig. 9: see below, n. 50.

Schwarz use to support their view, two will be discussed here, and the other, which probably represents Eumolpos, must be reserved for the next chapter.

The first of the two to be discussed here must be eliminated as a Triptolemos scene. On an amphora in the collection of Harvard University (*Fig. 65*) a young adult male reaches toward Demeter who is holding a bunch of grain stalks in her right hand.[33] He is dressed in a chlamys and petasos and holds two spears against his left shoulder. The dress is incorrect for Triptolemos. Nowhere else in Attic vase painting do we see Triptolemos with a chlamys and hat. The spears, also, are not right for Triptolemos, no matter whether they are meant to mark the figure as a warrior (or travelling warrior)[34] or simply a traveller[35] or a hunter. In discussing the name Triptolemos Schwarz rejects the etymology "Thrice-Warrior" "*wegen des sanften, unkriegerischen Wesens des Triptolemos, das aus allen literarischen und monumentalen Quellen spricht.*"[36] So too must we reject here an identification of this spearbearer as Triptolemos. The spears are not the appropriate symbols of Triptolemos' peaceful, civilizing mission. When the dadouchos Kallias in the early fourth century was attempting to mediate peace between the Athenians and Spartans, he invoked the peace-promoting mission of Triptolemos as the model by which they should be guided.[37] Even if we take the figure to be a mere traveller, the purpose of the spears is still inappropriate. They are meant to provide defence against attack—κυνῶν ἀλκτῆρα καὶ ἀνδρῶν. But who would attack Triptolemos? Spears contradict the very essence of his mission. Who the spearbearer is we cannot be sure; but we can at least be sure that he is not Triptolemos. One possibility is Theseus, who sometimes appears in vase painting dressed only in chlamys and petasos, holding one or two spears.[38] In an Eleusinian scene (with Triptolemos and Kore) a figure in similar dress, but with a sword instead of spears, may be Theseus.[39] We know few details about his connections with Eleusis.[40] According to one tradition he sat on the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα before making his descent to Hades: ὅπου καθίσαι φασὶ Θησέα μέλλοντα καταβαίνειν εἰς Ἅδην.[41] In addition, he was responsible for the initiation of Heracles.[42] His occasional appearance in Eleusinian scenes (if what we have here *is* an Eleusinian scene) should therefore not be surprising. I suspect that the scene here represents Demeter presenting, with a bow of her head, the gift of grain to Attica, symbolized in the figure of Theseus.[43]

The other side of the vase (*Fig. 66*) evidently depicts Plouton, barechested with an empty horn.[44] Eschbach suggests that a similar Plouton on Panathenaic amphoras (of the year 392/

---

[33] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 105 (Sackler Museum, 1959.187), Group of Polygnotos, *ARV*², p. 1059, no. 126; *Add.*², p. 323.

[34] Peschlow-Bindokat, p. 88.

[35] According to Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, p. 132.

[36] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, p. 3.

[37] Xen., *Hell.* 6.3.2–6; cf. below, Chap. 3, p. 69, n. 33, on the false notion that this passage refers to Triptolemos as hierophant.

[38] Cf. F. Brommer, *Theseus*, Darmstadt 1982, esp. pp. 144–145 and pl. 426.

[39] By the Marley Painter, *ARV*², p. 1276, no. 4; tentatively identified as Theseus by Schwarz, V 122 (figs. 27a–b). In addition, Schwarz, pp. 104–107, proposes to identify a warrior in another Eleusinian scene as Theseus: V 56, fig. 11b (Manner of the Brygos Painter, near the Castelgiorgio Painter, *ARV*², p. 398, no. 7; *Para.*, p. 521).

[40] He defeated Kerkyon there, though one version had him visit Eleusis not on his way to Athens but later, when the Megarians were in control of it: he drove out the ruler Diocles. Plut. *Thes.* 10.5.

[41] Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 785a, translated and discussed above, p. 16.

[42] Plut. *Thes.* 30.5.

[43] This theme of the gift of grain to Athens finds expression in a different way on a belly amphora by the Dinos Painter, from Trachones, formerly in the I. Geroulanos collection, *Figs. 66–68* (Beazley, *ARV*², p. 1154, 38bis; most recently, I. Scheibler, *Jdl* 102, 1987, pp. 67–69, figs. 5a–d). On one side oil is being poured into an amphora that stands at the feet of Athena; on the other, Plouton with his horn of plenty is flanked by Demeter and Kore: the two great crops of Attica, gifts of Athena and Demeter.

I am grateful to H.A. Shapiro for reminding me of the relevance of this scene to the amphora in Cambridge. On Plouton here see below, p. 108, No. 29.

[44] See below, Appendix 3, p. 106 and No. 38.

1) may have been inspired by the statue of Plouton in the sanctuary of the Semnai on the Areopagus.[45] The suggestion is speculative, and invites further speculation. The present scene of Demeter and the spearbearer may not be as closely related to Eleusis as has been thought; it may be advisable to consider a connection with another cult, such as that of Demeter Chloe. Plouton standing alone would be rather unusual as a reference to one of the Eleusinian cults.

The incorrect identification of the spearbearer as Triptolemos was no doubt due in large part to the assumption that Demeter's giving of the grain would be appropriate only in a Triptolemos scene. Yet it is remarkable how few Triptolemos scenes on Attic vases show Demeter handing him the grain:[46] from Schwarz's list I count only *five* certain examples.[47] Against these five certain examples we have two scenes of Demeter giving grain to figures who do not look like Triptolemos (the spearbearer here and a figure who is probably Eumolpos [Catalog, Eumolpos, Painting, No. 12, *Fig. 61*]). Since worshippers at Eleusis expected to obtain from the Two Goddesses the gift of the grain (i.e. agrarian Ploutos),[48] we should expect, in principle at least, to find a variety of recipients; that is, the handing over of grain ought not to be in itself a sure indication of the presence of Triptolemos. It must also be remembered that in Classical Athenian mythology it was Athens who first received grain from Demeter. According to Isocrates, the goddess gave δωρεὰς δι̣ττάς to "our ancestors," viz. grain and the Mysteries, which Athens then passed on to the rest of the world.[49] Triptolemos was of course the symbol of Athens' generosity, but Theseus, Athenian προγόνος *par excellence*, could well serve as the symbol of Attica as recipient.

In any case, Theseus, though an attractive possibility, is uncertain; but it would be incorrect method to use this uncertain *adult* in an uncertainly Eleusinian scene as evidence for the identification of an uncertain *boy* in the Great Relief.

The second exception, to be discussed here, to the otherwise uniform sequence of Triptolemos with his special vehicle, an exception which Beschi and Schwarz also use to support their view, is a true exception, but the sort of exception that proves the rule. On a pelike in Copenhagen (*Fig. 15*) a bearded male figure sits on a gaily decorated throne between Demeter and Kore; both goddesses direct their attention toward him; Demeter holds a bunch of wheat stalks in her left hand, and in her right she is pouring from an oinochoe into a phiale held by the seated figure.[50] As if to compensate for the deviation from the standard iconography, the painter has thoughtfully inscribed "Triptolemos." When we look at the other side of the pelike (*Fig. 16*), we can understand why he omitted the wings of Triptolemos' throne: here Theseus sits between Poseidon and Amphitrite, who stand around him in precisely the same way as Demeter and Kore stand around Triptolemos, and he sits on *precisely the same type of throne*. The artist was attempting to achieve strikingly parallel scenes of Triptolemos and Theseus *as kings*. The throne without wings owes its existence to this rather special parallel rendering. Yet it is only on such scenes as these that Beschi and Schwarz base their interpretation of the boy in the Great Relief.[51]

---

[45] Eschbach, *Statuen*, p. 26; cf. below, Appendix 3, p. 105.

[46] This was noticed by Peschlow-Bindokat, p. 82; cf. Beschi, *LIMC*, Demeter, p. 890.

[47] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 39 (= volute crater by the Berlin Painter, Karlsruhe; fig. 3), V 66 (= pelike by the Pan Painter, J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AE62; Robertson [above, n. 16], p. 75, fig. 1j), V 97 (= lekythos by the Phiale Painter, Munich 7518), V 98 (= lekythos by the Phiale Painter, London E 595; fig. 23); V 134 (= skyphos by the Marsyas Painter, Athens, NM 11037; fig. 31; below, Eumolpos, Painting, No. 6). This is the same group listed by Peschlow-Bindokat, p. 82, n. 86, with the exception of the Malibu pelike, which was published subsequently. The Lakrateides Relief (*Fig. 5*) may represent a transfer of grain.

[48] See above, p. 14, below, pp. 53–54.

[49] Above, p. 14.

[50] *Triptolemos*, V 54, fig. 9 (= Ny Carlsberg 2695), by the Triptolemos Painter, *ARV*², p.362, no. 19.

[51] Triptolemos' beard here is also unique in Attic red-figure scenes, and suggests that the artist was probably inspired in part by sixth-century scenes.

Attributes of Triptolemos in Non-Attic Representations

The non-Attic monuments add an interesting dimension and therefore should not be left out of account, but proper method warns against using them as a basis for interpreting an Attic monument.

On a red-figure Boeotian skyphos a man holding a plough receives a bunch of grain stalks from Demeter.[52] He may or may not be Triptolemos; nothing in the *Attic* artistic tradition, at any rate, would suggest that he is. To procure an identification with Triptolemos one has to call upon other scenes in which a male figure is holding (possibly) a plow: the Tazza Farnese,[53] a carnelian in Berlin,[54] and a stucco relief in Rome.[55] However, in none of these scenes is the identification certain, and so the figure on the Boeotian skyphos can only hypothetically be Triptolemos. The plowman may represent a local Boeotian hero who receives Demeter's gift,[56] but of course we cannot dismiss the possibility that it is a Boeotian rendering of Triptolemos. It would be the only representation in Greek vase painting of Triptolemos with a plow. Its uniqueness and hypothetical status render it an unsafe guide to Attic iconography.

In five Apulian red-figure scenes Triptolemos has his familiar snake-wagon (in one case winged).[57] Four other Apulian scenes show the Judges of the Dead in the Underworld; Triptolemos appears at least once and quite possibly in all four.[58] In this context, which is irrelevant to Eleusinian iconography, we cannot expect Triptolemos to appear in his wagon; but it is interesting to see that in one scene a judge (probably Triptolemos) is seated in a chariot.[59]

In two examples of Calenian relief ware Triptolemos again appears in his snake-chariot but now his right hand is making a gesture of sowing.[60] His snake-chariot appears also in the only scene on a lamp.[61]

Of the two Pompeian frescoes with Triptolemos one shows him in his wagon with snakes, the other is too damaged to provide details.[62] In a mosaic in Syrian Philippopolis a Triptolemos, identified by an inscription, is leading oxen with a rope.[63]

In the category of gems ("Glyptik") none of the works comes from Attica. Several show Triptolemos with an identifying attribute, usually the chariot equipped with snakes or wings.[64] Several others show a figure holding a plow or in the act of sowing, who is possibly but not clearly Triptolemos.[65] It would be most unwise to use these as a basis for interpreting Attic art and to infer that Triptolemos should appear sometimes in Attic sculpture without

---

[52] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 139 (= Berlin, Staatliche Museen 3412), pp. 155–156. Photograph: Schneider, fig. 23. Schneider, p. 107, uses this scene as the basis of his identification of the boy in the Great Relief as Triptolemos. The most obvious difficulty of course is that the figure on the skyphos is not a boy. It is also unclear why a subject on an Eleusinian relief would be taken from Boeotian iconography instead of Attic (it has not been shown, to my knowledge, that this Boeotian scene is derived from Attic painting).

[53] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, G 1, p. 59 (with bibliography), fig. 35. The moustache of "Triptolemos" is also a problem. Recent discussions of the Tazza Farnese and its problems: J.J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge 1986, pp. 257–259, 300 (with bibliography); E.J. Dwyer, *AJA* 96, 1992, pp. 255–282; J. Pollini, ibid., pp. 283–300, who shows that the figure cannot be Triptolemos.

[54] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, G 10, p. 60 (= Berlin, Staatliche Museen 6747).

[55] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, R 21, p. 69; in the "Basilica Sotterranea."

[56] On this type of local hero see especially M.H. Jameson, 'The Hero Echetlaeus', *TAPA* 82, 1951, pp. 49–61; cf. *LIMC*, Echetlos.

[57] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 140–144.

[58] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 145–148.

[59] Chariot: Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 148.

[60] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 153–154.

[61] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, L 1.

[62] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, p. 69: W 1 (Pompeii IX 3, 19), W 2 (Casa di Trittolemo VII 7, 5).

[63] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, M 1, Damascus, National Museum.

[64] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, G 2–5, 11, 14–17.

[65] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, G 1, 6–7, 10, 13. On the Tazza Farnese (G 1) see above, n. 53. Some other works in the "Glyptik" class definitely cannot be said to show Triptolemos: G 8–9, 12.

his winged chariot.[66] The impressive fact is that even in these non-Attic documents Triptolemos, where he can be identified, usually has his traditional vehicle.

Of the 23 coins collected by Schwarz only five are from Attica, and all five show Triptolemos in his winged chariot with snakes.[67] Of the 18 non-Attic coins Triptolemos appears in fourteen of them with his traditional vehicle, but in some of them he is also sowing.[68] In three cases the identification is uncertain.[69] On the obverse of a coin from Henna Triptolemos is standing and holding his scepter;[70] Schwarz sees this as an example of Triptolemos without his vehicle, hence evidence for identifying the boy in the Great Relief as Triptolemos.[71] The boy in the relief, however, lacks the scepter which the coin does not fail to exhibit, but most significantly, on the reverse of the coin, clearly meant to complement the obverse, is a plow drawn by winged snakes. The agricultural attribute has simply been transferred to the other side of the coin.

No certain example of a statue in the round of Triptolemos is preserved,[72] but Cicero, *Verr.* 2.4.49.110, mentions a statue of Triptolemos at Henna: *Ante aedem Cereris in aperto ac propatulo loco signa duo sunt, Cereris unum, alterum Triptolemi, pulcherrima ac perampla.* Schwarz sees this as an instance of Triptolemos without his vehicle. However, since Cicero does not give a description of the statue, we have no means of knowing whether a vehicle or winged chair was represented or not. It cannot be ruled out. Since he did not attempt to give a description of the statue of Demeter,[73] we have no right to assume that the omission of a description of Triptolemos has any significance. A marble seat on wheels in the Vatican, decorated with poppies and ears of grain, Schwarz suggests, belonged with a free-standing statue of Triptolemos.[74] There is no reason why the statue at Henna could not have included such a wagon.

Of the two examples of metalwork (Toreutik) the silver plate from Aquileia (T 1) represents Triptolemos standing next to his winged vehicle,[75] and a gold bowl in Bucharest (T 2) shows a figure with two plowshares, who Schwarz argues is Triptolemos as plowman assimilated to Horus.[76]

* * *

When we consider the representations from outside Attica as a whole, the conclusion that can be drawn is that Triptolemos always appears in them with his vehicle or an attribute drawn from the world of agriculture. In the non-Attic tradition Triptolemos appears for the first time as Sower; in Classical Attic imagery, on the other hand, he holds grainstalks but does not actually engage in sowing.[77] The non-Attic image is simply a natural extension of the Athenian image of him distributing τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ Δήμητρος καρποῦ.[78]

---

[66] As Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, p. 195, does.

[67] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, N 5–9. In N 9 the presence of wings is not clear. For many more examples of Attic coins with Triptolemos see Kroll-Walker.

[68] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, N 1, 3–4, 10–18, 20–23.

[69] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, N 2: Antoninus Pius receives stalks of grains from Faustina assimilated to Demeter. N 18–19 are described by Schwarz as uncertain.

[70] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, N 23.

[71] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, p. 195.

[72] On the series of heads or busts which Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, pp. 70–71, P 1–P 1h, takes to be Triptolemos see below, pp. 57–58.

[73] He happens to mention, two sentences later, that she was carrying an image of Victory in her right hand, but he does so only because Verres had ordered the Victory to be removed from the statue and taken away.

[74] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, pp. 71, 239. The sculpture: Vatican Inv. No. 2368 (Galleria dei Candelabri; Helbig[4] I, 507). Photograph: G. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, III, 2, Berlin 1956, no. 623, pls. 29, 49.

[75] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, T 1.

[76] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, T 2, pp. 62, 181–184.

[77] Schwarz interprets Triptolemos' raised right hand on a kylix by the Jena Painter (V 129, pl. 17, fig. 29) as a gesture of sowing, but other interpretations are possible.

[78] X. *Hell.* 6.3.6.

Attributes of Triptolemos: Summary

The clarity of the iconography of Triptolemos, who is first and foremost an Attic god, emanates from the Attic tradition. In Attic sculpture and vase painting he virtually always appears with his vehicle, a winged snake-chariot (in its full form), ἅρμα δρακόντων ὑπόπτερον,[79] or a variant. He is, whether younger or older, always an adult. In black-figure he usually has a beard; in red-figure he normally lacks a beard, but often holds, in addition to a bunch of grain-stalks, a scepter, the sign of his kingly stature, and in libation scenes, which are the most abundant type, a phiale.

In the face of this extraordinary consistency, it is hard to imagine, if an archaeologist found the Great Eleusinian Relief today, that he or she would immediately take the central figure to be Triptolemos. In fact, the relief, as it depicts a boy and not a man, positively tells against it. Schwarz, in her discussion of his identity, altogether ignores the figure's boyhood. But it is fundamental. Triptolemos does not appear in any other Attic (or non-Attic) monument as a boy.[80] It is incredible that this god, who received divine cult at Eleusis,[81] should suddenly, in the face of a well established tradition, be represented as a boy, in (of all places) his home sanctuary, bereft of any emblem of his kingly stature. And this would be the only fifth-century monument in which he appears naked.[82]

Furthermore, there is apparently no scene in which Triptolemos holds the grain and Demeter reaches for it; which is perfectly understandable, as it would contradict the myth of his mission. Yet this contradiction is precisely what confronts us in the Great Eleusinian Relief: as we saw earlier,[83] Demeter is most likely reaching to touch or to take the stalks held by the boy. The position of her fingers, in fact, with the crook in the index finger, is nicely paralleled in the hand of Triptolemos on a lekythos in Munich (here with the palm toward the viewer) as he reaches for the grain stalks held by Demeter.[84] This should serve as additional warning against interpreting our relief as a Triptolemos scene.

We may then ask why scholars in the nineteenth century thought that the boy in the relief was Triptolemos. There were evidently two main reasons. The first was of course ignorance, relatively speaking, of his iconography. Since then some scholars have tried to buttress this original iconographical error with another error, namely that there is literary evidence from the Classical period that shows that Demeter was the mother of Triptolemos, and that he was portrayed as her nursling. This "evidence" is discussed in Appendix 1. The second reason for the early identification with Triptolemos has to do with an assumption that was inspired by the finding place of the relief, an assumption which most recently reappears among Beschi's arguments:

> L'identificazione con Trittolemo è confortato dai casi nei quali egli figura stanta, astratto dal suo carro, oltre che dal luogo di ritrovamento (che coincide con quello del suo santuario ad Eleusi) e dal successo copistico, più spiegabile con la collocazione dell'architipo all'esterno di una rigorosa area misterica.[85]

Beschi's examples of "Triptolemos without his wagon," as we have seen,[86] do not represent Triptolemos. Let us now consider Beschi's assumption that the relief was found in the sanctuary of Triptolemos.

---

[79] Aelius Aristides, *Eleusinios* 4 Keil; cf. above, n. 16.

[80] The documents in which Schwarz calls him a boy are discussed below, Appendix 1.

[81] *IG* I³ 5, line 4; 78, line 38; II² 140, lines 21–22. Priest of Triptolemos: *IG* II², 1092, line 36; 3705, lines 4–5; cf. Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, p. 97.

[82] It happens only in the mid and late fourth century, according to our evidence: Pourtalès Crater (*Fig. 23*) = Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 132; calyx crater in Heidelberg = ibid., V 136; bell crater by the Painter of Naples 3245 = ibid., V 137. Cf. Schwarz, ibid., p. 196: "völlig nackt zeigen ihn erst Bilder ab der Mitte des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. ..."

[83] P. 40.

[84] Munich, Antikensammlungen 7518. Photograph: Peschlow-Bindokat, p. 82, figs. 14–15.

[85] *LIMC*, Demeter, *ad* no. 375.

[86] Above, pp. 42–44, with one exception.

The Finding Place of the Relief

The first reports reaching western Europe mentioned that it was found in the excavation for a schoolhouse next to the chapel of St. Zacharias in Eleusis. This chapel the Society of the Dilettanti had referred to many years earlier as *possibly* the site of the temple of Triptolemos mentioned by Pausanias (1.38.6).[87] Lenormant saw the relief as confirmation of the Dilettanti's conjecture.[88]

L. Vitet correctly realized that the discovery of the relief on what was thought to be the site of the temple was Lenormant's basic argument for his interpretation of the scene, a scene (in Lenormant's words) "not encountered among the ancient representations preserved down to our time." Vitet wrote: "Quel est donc ce sujet? Pour peu qu'on se rappelle que nous sommes à Eleusis et sur l'emplacement présumé d'un des temples dont parle Pausanias, du temple de Triptolème, on ne peut guère hésiter. M. Lenormant dès l'abord vit dans ce jeune et robuste garçon Triptolème lui-mème, instruit par Cérès et assisté par Proserpine."[89] L. Overbeck also referred to the chapel as the site of the temple of Triptolemos.[90] However, the only "evidence" in support of this view was merely a conjecture by the Dilettanti Society and by L. Ross.[91]

Lenormant planned to excavate the site but apparently never did so.[92] The excavation was finally carried out by D. Philios, who described the results in his Guide to Eleusis of 1906:

> It was commonly believed that the temple of the Hero [Triptolemos] was located on the site where there is now the chapel of St. Zacharias, and this because in that place, during the excavation in 1859 of the foundations of the public school next to it, was found the famous Great Eleusinian Relief, which now graces the National Museum in Athens. However, the excavations which I carried out there revealed clearly that the many visible remains are those of a large Byzantine church built around the tenth century on the ruins of a building of the Roman period. For the construction of the church they brought there, having looted various ancient buildings, the many marbles which are still there, including the aforementioned relief, which the Byzantines reused, turned upside down, as the threshold of one of the doors of the narthex.[93]

Philios concluded that there was no evidence that the site of the chapel of St. Zacharias was the ancient temple of Triptolemos mentioned by Pausanias. Therefore the finding place, since it is not the original location of the relief, is of no use to us, and Beschi's argument has no validity.

Unfortunately the finding place did play a leading role in some of the early attempts at interpretation, and was also influential in persuading later scholars. Pervanoglou, for instance, who did not make the connection between the finding place and the temple mentioned by Pausanias, at first regarded the boy as Iakchos.[94] Lenormant, who, as we know, did make the connection, presented his identification of the boy as Triptolemos in an article

---

[87] Report of P. Pervanoglou, published by H. Brunn, *Bdl*, 1859, pp. 200–201; F. Lenormant, 'Les marbres d'Eleusis', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1860 (April 15), pp. 65–84. Society of the Dilettanti, *The Unedited Antiquities of Attica*, London 1817, p. 2: "The temple of Triptolemos was perhaps situated where we now find the Greek chapel dedicated to St. Zaccharias."

[88] Lenormant (above, n. 87), pp. 82–83: "Le bas-relief qui nous occupe a été découvert à coté de la chapelle de Saint-Zacharie, et cette découverte confirme pleinement la conjecture des *Dilettanti*. Car le sujet du bas-relief ne saurait convenir nulle part mieux que dans la décoration d'un temple de Triptolème, puisqu'il retrace une scène de la légende de ce héros."

[89] L. Vitet, 'Les marbres d'Éleusis', *Revue des deux mondes* 30, 1860 (March), pp. 217–226, esp. pp. 218–219.

[90] J. Overbeck, 'Ein in Eleusis gefundenes Relief, welches des Triptolemos Aussendung darstellt', *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig* 10, 1858, p. 163.

[91] Dilettanti: see above, n. 87. L. Ross, *Griechische Königsreisen*, II, Halle 1848, p. 100. Ross' remark was correctly characterized by Welcker, 'Bassorelievo di Eleusi', *Annali dell'Instituto di corrispondenza archeologica*, 1860, p. 169, as spoken "*di volo*."

[92] Lenormant (above, n. 87), p. 84.

[93] D. Philios, Ἐλευσίς, Athens 1906, pp. 78–79, my translation. The Byzantine church was excavated again by Kourouniotes, and a brief report published by G.A. Soteriou, *ArchEph* 1929, pp. 183–184.

[94] Pervanoglou (above, n. 87).

which appeared in the April 1860 issue of *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*.[95] By October of the same year, having seen Lenormant's association of the relief with the alleged "temple", Pervanoglou changed his mind in favor of Triptolemos.[96]

Pausanias (1.38.6) mentions a "temple of Triptolemos" at Eleusis (somewhere outside the sanctuary) but gives no indication where we should look for it. The fact that the relief was frequently copied does tend to suggest (though it does not prove)[97] that it was located outside the sanctuary, but a location outside the sanctuary has no particular bearing on the identity of the figure. Virtually any of the proposals concerning the figure would be consistent with a location outside the peribolos of the sanctuary or on the outside face of the peribolos wall.

Recent Proposals

Ridgway proposed to identify the boy as the cult functionary known as the Initiate from the Hearth, παῖς ἀφ' ἑστίας μυηθείς. This would suit the boy's age, and of all proposals advanced so far, it is one of the most logical.[98] But it is hard to think of a reason why, around the time of the Eleusinian Relief, an artist would wish to deify a hearth-initiate.

Metzger's suggestion that the boy was simply a candidate for initiation is much less attractive, because, so far as we know, children were not admitted to initiation—except for the Initiate from the Hearth.[99]

There are additional difficulties against taking the boy either as an ordinary initiate or as Initiate from the Hearth. Schwarz points out that the boy's sandals are inappropriate; initiates evidently went barefoot.[100] In addition, the boy has none of the attributes of an initiate:[101] viz. the myrtle staff[102] or piglet. And his virtual nakedness is a serious difficulty. To my knowledge there is no other representation of a naked initiate, adult or child, from antiquity, except for divine initiates such as the Dioscuri and Heracles (*Figs. 20, 24, 31, 33*), and these examples appear mainly in scenes from fourth-century vase painting.[103]

Ploutos

Gods in Eleusinian representations are usually clothed, with one consistent exception, and that is Ploutos. In two fourth-century reliefs found

---

[95] Lenormant (above, n. 87).

[96] *Bdl* 1860, pp. 213–215.

[97] The "Eubouleus" head, evidently originally set up in the cave temenos *within the sanctuary*, was also frequently copied in antiquity; cf. below, Catalog, Eubouleus, Sculpture, Nos. 4–13. But of course there must not have been a prohibition against setting up a copy outside the sanctuary, e.g. in Athens, and this would have facilitated the production of more copies.

[98] It was first proposed in 1860 by Bötticher, *AA* 1860, col. 194; cf. F.T. Welcker, ibid., col. 99.

[99] There is no positive evidence that children took part, and some epigraphical evidence implies that they were prohibited, but the restoration is not beyond question: *IG* I³ 6, C, lines 24–26 with *Sacred Officials*, p. 11. Since maintenance of the secret was extremely important, it seems unlikely, just on these grounds, that children in general would be admitted.

[100] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, pp. 193–194. She notes that the Andanian law concerning the Mysteries (Sokolowski, *LSS*, 65, line 15), demands that initiates be barefoot. While this does not compel the conclusion that they were also barefoot at Eleusis, we have no certain representation of an initiate wearing sandals at Eleusis, and the Andanian law may well have followed the Eleusinian custom.

[101] On the attributes of the hearth-initiate, *Sacred Officials*, pp. 98–103, 113; on the initiate's piglet, Mylonas, p. 201; Clinton, 'Sacrifice'. The other important attribute, a myrtle wreath, is not relevant here, for if a wreath was attached, it is not preserved.

[102] This is sometimes called *bakchos*, probably wrongly, by modern scholars; cf. *Sacred Officials*, p. 103, n. 37. Bérard, 'Lumière', p. 17, n. 1, makes the attractive suggestion that they were called δράγματα, on the basis of Himerius, *orat.* 41.1: Ἀττικὸς γὰρ νόμος Ἐλευσινάδε φῶς μύστας φέρειν κελεύει καὶ δράγματα, ἡμέρου βίου γνωρίσματα. The δράγματα may be bundles of myrtle, as Bérard argues. Yet the description ἡμέρου βίου γνωρίσματα suggests grain. In any case, the clearest representations of these staffs, on a stamnos in Boston (*Fig. 31*) and attached to a statue of a hearth-initiate in Rome (Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, p. 102, figs. 5–6), show that they are more likely bunches of myrtle branches than stalks of grain. It is possible that Himerius was confused, or that we are ill informed about the ancient significance of myrtle. On the rings that bound the branches see J. Beazley, *NC*, 6th ser., 1, 1941, pp. 1–7.

[103] The initiate on the fragmentary stamnos in Boston by the Meidias Painter (*Fig. 31*) may be Heracles; cf. Burn, p. 72.

in the Agora, probably originally from the Eleusinion, the infant Ploutos, held on the arm of a god, is apparently naked, and he holds a cornucopia (*Figs. 9–10*).[104] In red-figure painting Eleusinian Ploutos is always naked and always a boy (of varying age, from infancy to early adolescence). In seven of eight extant red-figure scenes he appears with a cornucopia, and in at least one he wears a wreath of grain-stalks in his hair.[105] A fragment of a lekanis cover found in Athens, now stored in the Roman Agora (*Fig. 3*), is especially important.[106] There he stands with Demeter on his right and Kore on his left; between him and Demeter several stalks of grain are rising from the earth; and grain is emerging from the cornucopia which he holds. The grain rising from the ground between Demeter and the boy is the focus of their attention. Although the boy is naked, a himation is draped over his shoulder. The himation makes a perfect parallel to the one in the Great Eleusinian relief. Indeed, all the significant elements of the Eleusinian relief are contained in this scene: Demeter, Kore, the naked boy between them, and the grain between the boy and Demeter. The close similarity suggests that the boy in the relief is indeed Ploutos, though in the relief he does not have a horn of plenty. The horn, however, as we shall soon see, is not an essential attribute of Eleusinian Ploutos. The crucial element is the display of grain.

In age Ploutos on the sherd seems close to the boy on the relief. The top of his head is level with Kore's chest; to modern eyes, therefore, he appears about ten years old, just slightly younger than the boy in the Great Eleusinian Relief. Such a precise estimate, however, was no doubt of little interest to the ancient artist. He was simply depicting an older boy. What seems essential is that Ploutos be a boy, at most of twelve or thirteen years or so, rather than a young man.[107]

A strikingly similar figure appears in a scene on an Apulian loutrophoros in Malibu[108] (*Fig. 4*): naked, a himation draped over his left shoulder, he holds with his left hand a large cornucopia from which stalks of grain emerge; the crown on his head seems to consist of ears of grain. Like the boy on the lekanis cover he too looks toward the matronly goddess sitting next to him; she is wearing a diadem and holding a torch (the cross-bar type common in South Italian art). But he is labelled Ἐνιαυτός, and she Ἐλευσίς! Their Eleusinian pedigree is transparent—they are Ploutos and Demeter—but in South Italy they have acquired new names, not unrelated to their original ones at Eleusis. To the artist the locale of the scene was evidently of such importance that the label "Eleusis" prevailed over the more accurate "Eleusinian Demeter." (In Eleusinian iconography the goddess Eleusis was actually less queenly, a more maidenly figure).[109] Eniautos of course represents the same sort of concept as Ploutos but with more explicit seasonal reference. Pindar, *Pae.* 1.6, links Eniautos with the Horai (ὁ παντελὴς Ἐνιαυτὸς Ὥρα[ι] τε θεμί-γονοι); an Attic skolion (below, p. 54) links Ploutos with the Horai. In the Dionysiac procession of Ptolemy II Philadelphus Eniautos was played by a man in tragic costume holding a golden horn of plenty (Ath. 5.198a). The literary evidence by itself would suggest that the iconography of Eniautos and Ploutos ought to be rather similar.[110] And this must account in

---

[104] See below, pp. 56–57 and Catalog, Eleusinian Ploutos in Sculpture, Nos. 2–3.

[105] See below, Catalog, Eleusinian Ploutos in Vase Painting.

[106] See below, Catalog, Eleusinian Ploutos in Vase Painting, No. 5.

[107] The question of his age is discussed further in Appendix 2.

[108] K. Schauenburg, 'Zur Grabsymbolik apulischer Vasen', *JdI* 104, 1989, pp. 19–60, esp. 46–47. A.D. Trendall, *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily*, London 1989, p. 85, identifies the artist as the Painter of Louvre MNB 1148.

[109] For the goddess Eleusis see below, p. 24 and *Fig. 51*, and on an unpublished vase, p. 106 and *Fig. 46*, left.

[110] No other Greek representation of Eniautos is preserved; the Roman images of *Annus* show him to be an older boy or young man, naked or fully clothed, sometimes with a cornucopia, and usually wearing a wreath of fruits; see D. Parrish, *LIMC*, Annus.

large part for the inscription on the Apulian loutrophoros. It naturally raises the question whether we are wrong in regarding the older boy in the Eleusinian documents as Ploutos instead of Eniautos. But this seems very unlikely; Eniautos is not otherwise attested for Eleusis, while the evidence for Ploutos as child of Demeter is relatively abundant.[111]

Like Ploutos on the lekanis cover the boy on the Apulian loutrophoros reminds us of the boy on the Great Eleusinian Relief but for the presence of the cornucopia, and so we must next consider whether the horn is absolutely essential to the iconography of Ploutos.

The Lakrateides Relief

A Hellenistic relief found in the precinct of the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα,[112] allows us to approach some of these problems by a different path. Inscriptions on the relief help to identify most of the gods depicted on it. Called the Lakrateides Relief after the priest who dedicated it (*ca.* 100 B.C.), it is the largest relief found in the sanctuary and is of considerable importance for our understanding of the gods of the Mysteries. According to the dedicatory inscription (*IG* II² 4701), Lakrateides was a priest of Theos, Thea, and Eubouleus.[113] Looking at the relief (*Fig. 5*) from left to right, with the help of the inscriptions we see the following figures: a boy (*Fig. 6*) at the lower left (whose inscription is not preserved); behind him, a woman standing (perhaps Eleusis);[114] Demeter seated; Kore standing; Plouton standing; Triptolemos seated; Thea standing; Theos seated; Lacrateides, in low relief, standing in the background; and at the far right a youth (*Fig. 7*) with long hair, a torch, and a short chiton (his inscription is missing).

An interesting feature of the cult of the Mysteries is that the God (Theos) and the Goddess (Thea) are really the gods known elsewhere as Hades and Persephone, but in the context of the Mysteries the names Hades and Persephone do not occur.[115] The only divine couples that occur at Eleusis are (1) Plouton and Kore and (2) Theos and Thea. As Philios, Nilsson and others realized, the God and the Goddess are indeed equivalent, in a certain sense, to Plouton and Kore.[116] But Plouton and Kore here appear on the left, along with Demeter and Triptolemos. What is suggested by this relief, other works of art, and additional considerations (discussed in Appendix 4) is that at Eleusis when these two deities were visualized as King and Queen of the Underworld (i.e. Hades and Persephone), they were called God and Goddess. The names Theos and Thea reflect the fact that in the Mysteries these underworld gods became approachable, so much so that at Eleusis they even received sacrifice—a highly unusual act of devotion to an underworld god.[117] In the Lysimachides relief (*Fig. 8*) Demeter and Kore are seated at a separate table on the left, while the Thea and the Theos are behind a similar table on the right, he reclining on a couch, she sitting next to him.[118] In the mind of the dedicator the two pairs coexist. The same goddess appears as Kore on the left, sitting with the upperworld goddess Demeter, but as Thea on the right, where she consorts with the underworld god, Theos.

Eleusis was not the only place that exhibited Hades separately from Plouton. At Hermione, Pausanias (2.35.10) tells us, behind a temple of Demeter Chthonia there were three "places": one was called τὸ Κλυμένου, which had a

---

[111] See below, pp. 53–54, "The Significance of Eleusinian Ploutos."

[112] Traditionally called the Ploutonion, but see Chap. 1.

[113] On the priest see Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, p. 97. The text of the inscription is given below, p. 53. Although the lacuna after his title in line 1 would accomodate καὶ Πλούτωνος, we should not rush to restore it, for there is no parallel. Philios' restoration in the next lacuna, καὶ τῶν [συμβώμ]ων τούΙ[τοις θεῶν, is probably not correct.

[114] See below, n. 124.

[115] Cf. Clinton, 'Sacrifice', p. 44.

[116] See especially Nilsson, 'Gottheiten', pp. 545, 555–556, and the discussion below, Appendix 4.

[117] On sacrifice to Hades see below, p. 63.

[118] Bianchi, no. 24; Nilsson, *GGR* I³, pl. 39, 3. The inscription: *IG* II² 4683. On the Mondragone relief: Catalog, Iakchos, Sculpture, [No. 5].

chasm, regarded as an entrance to the Underworld; the second was τὸ Πλούτωνος; and the third was called "Acherusian Lake." Earlier Pausanias (2.35.9) said that Klymenos was the King of the Underworld (and this is consistent of course with the existence of the chasm in his "place").[119] The Hermionians evidently distinguished Plouton from Klymenos. Local dedications to Demeter, Klymenos, and Kore, on the other hand, give the impression that Klymenos ought to be Plouton, inasmuch as Klymenos is worshipped side by side with Demeter and Kore.[120] He may be rather like the Eleusinian Theos, god of the Underworld but approachable in cult.

In the Lakrateides Relief, since the Theos and the Thea appear on the right, we might surmise that the figure on the far right is also connected with the Underworld. But there is a more certain way of deducing his identity. The inscription tells us that the dedicator was a priest of the God and the Goddess and Eubouleus, and to all three (and other, related gods) he made the dedication (the text is printed at the bottom of this page).[121]

It would be extraordinary if Lakrateides, as priest of the God and Goddess and Eubouleus, portrayed just the God and the Goddess but omitted Eubouleus, in a relief in which he displayed himself and his wife in the company of nearly all Eleusinian deities. And it is visually appropriate that the gods he serves stand next to him as they do: Thea, Theos, and the other god at the right.[122] This god must therefore be Eubouleus.[123] And there can be no question that this figure is a god. Heberdey noticed that the figure of Lakrateides is rendered in strikingly flat relief, in contrast to the high relief of the figures who are obviously gods.[124] Lakrateides, as a man, stands in the background, partially obscured by the Theos. The youthful figure at the right (*Fig. 7*), on the other hand, is in high relief like the gods, and must be one of them. His divine companions, too, seem right for Eubouleus: much of our other information about this god associates him in some way with the

---

[119] The Hermionians had a story about Klymenos according to which he was an Argive who came to Hermione, but Pausanias rejected it, realizing that Klymenos was an epithet of the King of the Underworld.

[120] *IG* IV 686–691, 1609.

[121] *IG* II² 4701. The readings and restorations are based on my study of the stone.

[122] Plouton too suits this arrangement, if his name is to be restored in the priest's title; see above, n. 113.

[123] These considerations also convinced Nilsson, 'Gottheiten', p. 557, of this identification. Cf. now Schwarz, *LIMC*, Eubouleus, 2, who also accepts it. (Her description of the dedicatory inscription is incorrect; she ignores Kirchner's edition, *IG* II² 4701.) The name Εὐβουλεύς should therefore be restored to the left of the figure.

[124] R. Heberdey, 'Das Weiherelief des Lakrateides aus Eleusis', in *Festschrift Benndorf*, Vienna 1899, pp. 111–116: the first and only full publication of the relief. The woman on the far left may well be Eleusis, as Heberdey suggested. She seems to be too closely engaged with Demeter to be Lakrateides' wife, who ought not to be represented here so prominently in any case.

[Λακρατείδης Σωστράτου Ἰκαρι]εὺς ἱερεὺς θεοῦ καὶ θεᾶς καὶ Εὐβουλέω[ς . . .11–12. .] καὶ τῶν [..ca. 6. .]ων του [. . . . . .εὐερ]γετῶν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν υἱῶν Σωστράτ[ου καὶ Διονυσί]ου καὶ τῆς [γυναικὸ]ς Διονυσί[ας τῆς *nomen patris, demoticum* θ]υγατρὸς χαριστήριον Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρη[ι καὶ θε]ῶι καὶ θε[ᾶι καὶ Εὐ]βουλεῖ [----------] ἀνέθηκεν.

(The following names appear next to the figures.)

[Ἐλευσίς(?)]				Λακρατείδης Σωστράτου Ἰκαριεύς
	[Κόρη]	Πλού-των	Θεά	
[Δημήτηρ]		Τριπτόλε-μος		Θεός

Underworld.[125] Thus the Lakrateides relief gives us the firmest basis for the iconography of Eubouleus: a young man with longish hair (here in flowing locks), wearing a knee-length chiton and carrying a torch.

The small boy at the far left (*Fig. 6*), in high relief (higher even than some of the gods), ought to be an upperworld deity, as the ears of grain in his hand indicate. He is surely Ploutos.[126] He is not naked here, no doubt for artistic reasons in this late Hellenistic setting.[127] But it is significant that he stands right next to Demeter, and the handful of grain is located once again prominently between him and the goddess.[128] Ploutos, then, need not always hold a cornucopia.[129] Its absence in the Great Eleusinian Relief is no obstacle therefore to accepting the scene on the Athens lekanis cover (*Fig. 3*) as a parallel to the Great Relief and concluding that the boy in the Great Relief is Ploutos.

Further confirmation comes from an unexpected source. When my manuscript was already in the hands of the printer, I realized I had passed over, as others had, a vase which is quite relevant despite the fact that it does not represent Ploutos in an *Eleusinian* context. It is a red-figure chous in Berlin (*Fig. 4b*).[130] On it appear, from left to right, a male figure in an elaborate tunic who is labelled Χρυσός, a Nike (with inscription) in a chariot, driving toward a tripod on a pedestal, and an older boy labelled Πλοῦτος (the Attic spelling for Πλοῦτος). Except for his right arm, with which he is pointing at the tripod, Ploutos looks so much like the boy on the Great Eleusinian Relief that it is tempting to say that the painter had the figure on the relief in mind, though his boy has a stance that indicates movement whereas the boy on the relief is stationary. In any case both the relief and the chous illustrate an identical type: a naked boy; his himation loosely draped over his right shoulder and held in his left hand; his right foot set forward; and his right hand raised. Although the milieu on the chous is Dionysiac, the scene is of paramount importance because of its inscription: it identifies the figural type on the Eleusinian Relief as Ploutos.

The Significance of Eleusinian Ploutos

The prominence of Ploutos in the Agora reliefs, in the Great Eleusinian Relief, and in vase painting reflects a central attraction of the Mysteries. Worshippers came to the Two Goddesses not only to obtain a better lot in the afterlife but also to obtain the promise of Ploutos. The Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, composed around the end of the seventh century, concludes with the promise: "Very prosperous is he who of mortal men is loved by these goddesses; straightway do they send to his great home Ploutos, who sits by his hearth and brings

---

[125] See below, p. 60.

[126] Some have seen in this figure one of Lakrateides' sons; cf. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, p. 198, who also identifies the youth at the far right as a son of the dedicator. However, as the figure at the right almost certainly is not a son, it would seem odd for Lakrateides to have one son represented and not the other, though both are mentioned in the dedicatory inscription. In addition, the high relief of this figure strongly suggests that he is a god; see above, p. 52 and n. 124. R. Heberdey, in the only full study of this relief (above, n. 124), pp. 111–116, identified the boy as Ploutos (following Benndorf), which Nilsson, 'Gottheiten', p. 558, seemed inclined to accept but felt that the lack of a horn of plenty was a problem.

[127] A similar boy in a short tunic, holding a bunch of grainstalks, appears next to the goddess Aestas on the cosmological mosaic in Merida; A. Alföldi, *Aion in Mérida und Aphrodisias*, Mainz 1979 (Madrider Beiträge, 6), p. 7, pl. 13; he has no inscription. Alföldi calls him a καρπός but he could just as well be a Πλοῦτος; they are a similar type; on Karpoi, who usually appear as a plurality (the certain, preserved examples are naked), see J. Balty, *LIMC*, Karpoi.

[128] His right arm is broken off at the elbow, but it is unlikely that it held a cornucopia.

[129] In this respect he is rather like the goddess Tyche who is represented as a city goddess on coins of the Roman period from many cities in the Greek East; sometimes she holds a cornucopia, sometimes stalks of grain; see the list compiled by T. Dohrn, *Die Tyche von Antiochia*, Berlin 1960, pp. 52–57.

[130] Staatliche Museen F 2661: G. van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria*, Leiden, 1951, p. 105, no. 331, figs. 20a–b; *ARV*², p. 1321, 3 (Group of Athens 12144); Metzger, *Recherches*, p. 70, no. 34, with bibliography, and p. 74; Burn, p. 87; *LIMC*, Ploutos, 17

wealth to mortals." This wealth that the goddesses could bestow was of course agrarian. *Ploutos*, as other sources confirm, was the "abundance that comes from barley and wheat."[131] Inevitably the word *ploutos* came to be used of other types of wealth; Aristophanes' own *Ploutos*, depicted as an old man, is a famous illustration.[132] However, Ploutos in the pictorial arts remains a boy and maintains his original association with the grain harvest.[133]

In Greek mythology Ploutos is known as the the grain-goddess's son.[134] In Attic mythology, too, he is the son of Demeter, as the verses of a skolion proclaim:[135]

> Πλούτου μητέρ' Ὀλυμπίαν ἀείδω
> Δήμητρα στεφανηφόροις ἐν ὥραις,
> σέ τε, παῖ Διός, Φερσεφόνη.

The difficult question of his lineage and role in the mythology of the Eleusinian cult will occupy us later.[136] But the existence of Ploutos in the Lakrateides Relief attests to the duration of the Eleusinian mythology of this god: from at least *ca.* 600 B.C., when Ploutos is mentioned in the Homeric Hymn, to at least 100 B.C.[137]

Ploutos in the Great Eleusinian Relief

The first to identify Ploutos in the Great Eleusinian Relief, shortly after its discovery, was L. Stephani,[138] who was in an excellent position to do so: entrusted with the publication of the Kerch vases, he was probably more familiar with the image of Ploutos than any other scholar of his time. He correctly realized that Triptolemos never appeared in the form of a "mellephebos" (to use his word) but was always as full-sized as the gods he accompanied. Twenty years ago, Metzger was greatly tempted to follow Stephani, but the lack of a horn of plenty held him back.[139] Yet, as the Lacrateides relief suggests, the presence of stalks of grain can be as significant as the horn. Grain, after all, is the essence of Eleusinian Ploutos.

In the Great Eleusinian Relief Demeter is probably not handing Ploutos anything, as Metzger and others realized. She is reaching to touch or take something he is holding, as is suggested by the arrangement of her fingers;

---

[131] Hesychius, s.v. Ploutos. Many other examples of this meaning of the word are cited by J. Zwicker, *RE* XXI (1951), s.v. Plutos, 1031–1033, e.g.: Schol. Theocr. 10.19a, p. 230 Wendel; Themistius, *Or.* 30.351B.

Aristophanes' female herald in *Thesmophoriazousae* (295 Coulon) would seem to express this old spirit, urging the women: Εὔχεσθε τοῖν θεσμοφόροιν, καὶ τῷ Πλούτῳ (as well as several other fertility gods). Ploutos comes immediately after Demeter and Kore. However, it is curious that the heraldess does not mention Plouton among these gods, who typically appears with Demeter and Kore in Thesmophoric cults. Therefore we should probably make the easy emendation Πλούτωνι. In this appeal the heraldess mentions real (not comic) gods who are worshipped in Athens; but Ploutos does not receive cult in Athens of the Classical period (or any period), and seems out of place in a serious prayer of this sort.

[132] Non-agrarian Ploutos is already alluded to in Hes. *Th.* 969–974. Lord of mines: Str. *Geog.* 3.2.9; Ath. 6.233E; cf. *FGrHist* 228, Demetrius of Phaleron frg. 35; Zwicker (above, n. 131), 1028–1036.

[133] Plouton (Πλούτων) is frequently represented in vase painting as a bearded man who carries a horn of plenty, sometimes also a scepter: neck amphora, Louvre G 209, by the Oionokles Painter (*ARV*², p. 648, no. 25; Bianchi, no. 13); hydria, BM E 183, by the Painter of London E 183, *Fig. 74* (*ARV*², p. 1191, no. 1; Bianchi, no. 14; Nilsson, *GGR* I, pl. 42.1); pelike, Athens NM 16346, by the Orestes Painter (*ARV*², p. 1113, no. 11; Bianchi, no. 15; Schauenburg, 'Pluton', p. 42, fig. 5); amphora, Sackler Museum, 1959.187, Group of Polygnotos (*ARV*², p. 1059, no. 126), *Fig. 66*. Nilsson, *GGR* I³, p. 319, calls the figure on the hydria Ploutos, but the belly amphora from Trachones with its inscription, *Figs. 67–68* and below, p. 108, n. 12, confirms that the figure is Plouton. See fuller discussion in Appendix 3. The distinction between Plouton and Ploutos in literature was not always firm: Once in Aristophanes' play Ploutos the god is called Πλούτων (line 727); see Zwicker (above, n. 131), 1027–1028 and literature cited there; Schauenburg, 'Pluton', pp. 47–48.

[134] Hes. *Th.* 969–974.

[135] *PMG* 885.

[136] Below, pp. 91–92.

[137] For his presence after 100 B.C. see below, p. 59.

[138] *CRPétersb* 1859, pp. 104–106, esp. 105, n. 2.

[139] Metzger, 'Relief'.

and what Ploutos holds is a thick bunch of wheat stalks, evidently of metal,[140] so tightly bunched that they were firmly held in his grasp.[141]

Lambert Schneider in his study of the relief pointed out the various holes for attachments. There are holes for attaching Kore's earring, necklace, and bracelet; and on the boy, a hole for the attachment of something to the front of his forehead. The object attached to his forehead has been thought to be a forelock.[142] If so, Kore's gesture becomes difficult to understand. It seems better therefore to relate the hole to the action of Kore. She is putting something on the boy's head, and it is hard to see what else it might be but the child's customary wreath of grain. Then the hole in front of the forehead makes sense: at this moment the front of the wreath was already attached,[143] while Kore held the back of it with her fingers, in the act of drawing it over his head.

Ridgway's conjecture that the boy represented the hearth-initiate, though incorrect, was logical in that she recognized the basic symbolism. The hearth-initiate typifies the importance of the child at Eleusis; and perhaps the hair style of Ploutos with the long forelock typical of a boy is, as Ridgway suggested,[144] an allusion to the παῖς ἀφ' ἑστίας μυηθείς. This initiate would often be about the age of the Ploutos in the relief, and in classicizing statues he wears a long forelock.[145] A child was announced by the hierophant in the secret part of the rite, according to a late source.[146] One of the hopes of the initiate was that he would receive Ploutos at his hearth, as promised in the Homeric Hymn, not mere financial profit, but the prosperity that would make his household flourish. In the Archaic mode of thinking the prosperity of the house and γένος is ensured through its children.[147] The children—the wealth of the οἶκος—are sustained through the wealth of the harvest; in a real sense they are the τόκος of Ploutos. The Initiate from the Hearth obviously had some connection with a specific hearth—the precise one and the type of connection are not clear—but as a child celebrant in the Mysteries he (or she) must have symbolized the eternal regeneration of the family, the *genos*, and the Polis, through the Πλοῦτος of Demeter.[148]

---

[140] Or marble, glued on; see above, n. 9.

[141] See above, pp. 39–40.

[142] See especially Ridgway (above, n. 11), p. 139.

[143] The hole is in fact about the same size as the holes with which the crown on the Sounion boy was attached.

[144] Cf. E.B. Harrison, 'Greek Sculptured Coiffures and Ritual Haircuts', in *Early Greek Cult Practice. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26–29 June, 1986* (ActaAth-4°, 38), Stockholm 1988, pp. 247–254, esp. p. 251.

[145] On the hearth-initiate, Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, pp. 98–114, figs. 5–14. The statue bases which commemorated these special initiates are usually small, as we would expect for children. J.M. Mansfield has kindly pointed out to me *per litt.* additional evidence concerning the hearth-intiate, preserved in the Confession of St. Cyprian of Antioch, who was martyred in A.D. 304. Although the Confession is fictitious, in it Cyprian recounted his initiation, which took place just after his tenth birthday, as follows (*Praxis* 2.1, *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept. VII (48), p. 204 f.): ἑπτὰ οὔπω ἤμην ἐτῶν, ὅτε καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Μίθρου προσῆλθον μυστηρίοις. καὶ ὡς Ἀθηναῖος ἐπήλυτος ὤν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν γεννησάντων με διὰ σπουδῆς πολίτης γενόμενος, ἔτι ὢν δέκα ἐτῶν, ἐδαιδούχησα τῇ Δημήτρᾳ καὶ τῆς Κόρης τὸ λευκὸν πέπλος ὑπέμεινα καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει Παλλάδος τῷ δράκοντι ἐλειτούργησα, εἰς προκωπὴν νεωκόρου καταστάς. The account reappears over a century later in a metrical paraphrase by the empress Aelia Eudocia, an Athenian, the wife of Theodosius II, *Logoi* 2.14–22, p. 48 Ludwich, of which lines 18–20 contain the reference to Eleusis:

δεκάτῳ δ' ἐπιβὰς λυκάβαντι
Δηοῖ δᾷδας ἀνῆψα, Κόρης δ' ἀργεννὸν ὑπέστην πέπλος.

The passages are important because they constitute the only literary evidence for the precise age of a hearth-initiate; their main value lies in the fact that they derive from a perception of the hearth-initiate that was current in the early fourth century. On the Confession of Cyprian see M.P. Nilsson, 'Greek Mysteries in the Confession of St. Cyprian', *HThR* 60, 1947, pp. 167–176 (= *Opuscula Selecta* III, pp. 106–116).

[146] See discussion below, pp. 91–94.

[147] Cf. Nilsson, *Die Antike* 18, 1942, pp. 210–231, esp. p. 220.

[148] On his functions see Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, pp. 98–116.

III. Eubouleus

The importance of Eubouleus in the Mysteries has largely gone unnoticed. He is a major god. He does not of course have as central a role as Demeter and Kore, but he is nevertheless extremely important; he appears in many respects to be the equal of Triptolemos. A fifth-century law which calls for sacrifices to Demeter and Kore, Triptolemos, the God, the Goddess, and Eubouleus, illustrates this equality:[149]

τρίττοιαν δὲ βόαρχον χρυσόκερον τοῖν θεοῖν ηεκα[τέραι ἀ]πὸ τῶν κριθῶν καὶ τῶν πυρῶν καὶ τ�ôι Τριπτολέμοι καὶ τ�ôι [θε]ôι καὶ τῆι θεᾶι καὶ τ�ôι Εὐβόλοι ηιερεῖον ηεκάστοι τέλεον καὶ τῆι Ἀθεναίαι βῶν χρυσόκερον.

Demeter and Kore each receive the greatest sacrifice, consisting of three victims, while each of the other gods gets a single victim. In this sacrificial context Eubouleus is on a par with Triptolemos. Pausanias (1.14.2) also couples Eubouleus and Triptolemos in the context of the Mysteries; he tells of an Argive hierophant who moved to Eleusis and had two sons by those names. Furthermore, in a myth that was associated with the Thesmophoria, we learn that Eubouleus and the pigs he was herding were swallowed up in the chasm that opened in the earth as Hades carried off Kore. This aetiological myth reflects the ritual at the *megara*, the pits into which piglets were thrown. The *megara* of the Thesmophoria have now been identified at Eleusis, and we know that they apparently played an important role at the Mysteries as well:[150] it is one more indication that Eubouleus should also have a mythic link with the Mysteries.

The Lakrateides Relief, as we have seen, provides the firmest basis for the iconography of Eleusinian Eubouleus.[151] In this relief (*Figs. 5, 7*) he resembles a young man, not a boy like Ploutos; his long locks of hair flow down onto his chest on either side; he carries a single torch; and he wears a long-sleeved tunic that ends just above his knees (where the relief breaks off).

In addition to providing us with the essential iconography of Eubouleus, the Lakrateides Relief associates Eubouleus with Theos and Thea, both in the composition on the relief and in the title of Lakrateides, the priest of these three gods.[152] The God and Goddess at Eleusis, as we have seen, are equivalent to Hades and Persephone,[153] and the relief was set up in the precinct of the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα, by the entrance to the Underworld, in the same area as a base for a statue of Eubouleus from the late fourth century.[154]

With the iconography of Eubouleus now clear, we can see him in two late fourth-century reliefs found in the Athenian Agora.[155] In the first (*Fig. 9*) he holds a torch in his right hand;[156] he wears a knee-length chiton; and on his left arm he carries a small child holding a horn of plenty, who must be Ploutos. The little

---

[149] *IG* I³ 78, lines 37–40.

[150] See Clinton, 'Sacrifice'.

[151] See above, pp. 52–53. Schwarz, *LIMC*, Eubouleus, also supports this identification.

[152] On the priesthood see Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, p. 97. Another incumbent has since come to light, on a dedication edited by E. Kapetanopoulos, *ATHENA* 76, 1977, pp. 182–186 (= *SEG* XXVI, 238; *IG* III 3851), but inspection of the stone (EM 9816) shows that the text can be edited slightly differently:

[. .ca.8. .]χως
[.ca.5. . ιε]ρέως
[θεοῦ κα]ὶ θεᾶς
[καὶ ᵛ] Εὐβουλέ-
[ως ᵛ Φ]ουρίου
[Μαρκέλ]λου Γαρ-
[γηττίου] κτλ.

This restoration of line 4 is preferable to Kapetanopoulos' [Διός τε]. The conjunction τε (rather than καί) would be extraordinary in this prose dedication, and we should not expect to find Zeus Eubouleus in Attica; see below. Of the antepenultimate letter in line 1 the tip of an oblique stroke can be seen at the lower right; its angle favors chi, but alpha or lambda cannot be ruled out.

[153] Above, pp. 51–53, and Appendix 4.

[154] *IG* II² 4615.

[155] See below, Eubouleus, Sculpture, Nos. 1–2.

[156] It is a short torch, as carved; but perhaps only the upper part was modeled, the lower part painted, like the scepter in Demeter's left hand in the Neoptolemos Relief; on this scepter, H. Thompson, 'Dionysos among the Nymphs in Athens and in Rome', *JWalt* 36, 1977, pp. 73–84, esp. p. 76 and fig. 4.

relief shows Eubouleus associated with Ploutos more closely and more dramatically than on the Lakrateides Relief. A similar scene occurs on the other relief (*Fig. 10*),[157] but here the artist has omitted his torch—probably because he can be perceived as sharing the torch held by Kore. There can be no doubt that he is Eubouleus, given the similarity between the figure in the other Agora relief (*Fig. 9*) and the torch-bearer in the Lakrateides Relief. Homer Thompson's identification of the figure as Iakchos, on the basis of the invocation Ἴακχε Πλουτοδότα in a scholion to Aristophanes' *Frogs* (479), was a logical hypothesis but is not sustained by the secure evidence of the Lakrateides Relief.[158] Eubouleus is in any case more likely than Iakchos since Eubouleus appears in several vase scenes in the company of Ploutos, but, on the whole, the same cannot be said for Iakchos.[159] We shall return to the association of Eubouleus and Ploutos later, in our discussion of Eubouleus in vase painting.[160]

This association with agrarian Ploutos is consistent with the impression from other sources that Eubouleus is a fertility god.[161]

What is most interesting is that in depicting Ploutos on the arm of Eubouleus the artist has evidently been influenced by the famous statue of Eirene and Ploutos by Cephisodotus.[162] Although the association of Eubouleus and Ploutos is rather frequent in painting, nowhere, as we shall see, is it so striking as in these two Agora reliefs. But the fact that the composition in the Agora reliefs was probably inspired by the statue of Eirene and Ploutos urges that we be cautious about reading into the striking association of Eubouleus and Ploutos too definite a significance for the myth and cult.

The heads and busts of a young god found at Eleusis (and elsewhere) were originally thought to be Eubouleus because one of them (Catalog, Eubouleus, Sculpture, No. 4) was found in the so-called Ploutonion (more accurately, the precinct of the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα), an appropriate place within the sanctuary for a statue of this god.[163] The relatively large quantity of other copies attest to the importance of the god depicted, and they suggest a wide geographical range for his worship. Schwarz chose to identify the heads as representations of Triptolemos, apparently because, in her view (if I understand it correctly), Triptolemos was more

---

[157] Discussed below, p. 135, Eubouleus, Sculpture, No. 2.

[158] See discussion above, pp. 52–53.

[159] See below, pp. 64–71.

[160] Below, pp. 83–84.

[161] See Graf, pp. 171–174; a list of cult places is given below, p. 60; further discussion below, pp. 59–63.

[162] Cephisodotus' statue, created shortly before 360, also has Ploutos perched on the god's left arm. Even more striking is the similarity of the reliefs to the figures of Eirene and Ploutos on Panathenaic amphoras (Eschbach, *Statuen*, pp. 58–70), which also were inspired by Cephisodotus' composition. The rather odd position of Eubouleus' left arm in Agora S 1251 (*Fig. 9*), bent rather inappropriately for holding a torch, becomes immediately understandable when we see that it precisely copies Eirene's arm, which grasps a scepter; and Eubouleus' stance, with his left leg sweeping outward, also parallels Eirene nicely (see especially Eschbach, *Statuen*, p. 62, fig. 36). The other Agora relief, S 1646, is more distant, the parallel being expressed mainly in the position of boy and cornucopia on Eubouleus' left arm.

[163] The precinct: above, pp. 14–27.

E.B. Harrison, *Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 382–389, interpreted the type as Alexander the Great. Yet an Eleusinian setting for Alexander would be strange. There is no sign that the Macedonian kings were interested enough in the Mysteries even to become initiates. Aelius Aristides tells us merely that "the Philips and the Alexanders and the Antipaters" respected the inviolability of the sanctuary (*Eleusinios* 8): unlike the Costobocs these enemies of Athens stayed away from Eleusis; for that the Athenians could be thankful. The Macedonians evidently preferred the Mysteries of Samothrace to those of Eleusis. (For a discussion of Philip's connection with Samothrace, see my article, 'The Eleusinian Mysteries: Roman Initiates and Benefactors', in *ANRW* 18.3, pp. 1518–1519, n. 92.) Politically, therefore, an image of Alexander in or near the "Ploutonion" seems out of place; the same would hold true for the Eleusinion in the City, which was probably the original setting for the copies found in the Agora or around the Acropolis. R.R.R. Smith, *Royal Hellenistic Portraits*, Oxford 1988, p. 60, n. 34 (with full bibliography), has recently rejected Harrison's interpretation on iconographical grounds, i.e. "on grounds of ideal hairstyle and non-royal dress." (I owe this reference to the kindness of O. Palagia.)

important and better known than Eubouleus.[164] However, in the Eleusinian cult, in the context of sacrifice, Eubouleus and Triptolemos, as we have seen, are equal,[165] and both (as will later be clear) have very important roles in the cult myth. Cult of Zeus Eubouleus in one form or other is attested for Amorgos, Argos, Delos, Naxos, Paros, Thasos, Cyrene, Corinth, Myconos, Epidaurus, Mantineia,[166] and (perhaps) Syros.[167] The cult of Triptolemos outside Attica, on the other hand, was very limited indeed; no epigraphical evidence for Triptolemos has been found outside Eleusis and Athens.[168] Eubouleus therefore remains the most likely candidate for sculptures Nos. 4–13.[169] The work of Praxiteles (Catalog, Sculpture, No. 14) offers eloquent testimony of the god's importance at Athens. However, Iakchos cannot be altogether excluded as a candidate, as will be clear in a moment.

Eubouleus can also be identified with a figure in Eleusinian scenes on Attic vases of the fourth century (for a fuller description of the following vases see the Catalog, Eubouleus in Attic Vase Painting, Fourth Century, Nos. 1–9, pp. 134–135).

1. Pelike from Kerch by the Eleusinian Painter, St. Petersburg Hermitage 1792. *Figs. 20–21.*

2. Pelike from Athens, Sandford-Graham collection, now lost. *Fig. 25.*

3. Lekythos from Apollonia, Sofia, Archaeological Museum 7721. *Figs. 26–28.*

4. Bell crater (Pourtalès) from S. Agata dei Goti, by the Pourtalès Painter, London, BM F 68. *Fig. 24.*

5. Relief Hydria from Cumae (*"Regina Vasorum"*), St. Petersburg, Hermitage. *Figs. 17–19.*

6. Votive Pinax, Eleusis, Museum. *Fig. 71.*

7. Hydria from Rhodes, Istanbul. *Fig. 29.*

8. Hydria, Bern, Abbeg-Stiftung. *Figs. 22–23.*

9. Relief lekythos, Athens, National Museum 2174. Possibly Eubouleus: see below, p. 82.

The scenes show Eubouleus, often in company with Ploutos, but two of them, Nos. *4* and *5*, pose a problem. These two scenes show Eubouleus in the company of a figure with attributes very similar to his own. Schwarz recently took the figures to be Eubouleus and Iakchos,[170] as other scholars have done. This, as it happens, is correct; but her method of distinguishing them, by the number of torches held by each, is mistaken. In order to distin-

---

[164] Schwarz, 'Eubouleus', pp. 81, 84.

[165] Above, p. 56.

[166] Zeus Eubouleus in Mantineia: *IG* V, 2, 289, with M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie* (Etudes Peloponnésiennes, 9), Paris 1985, pp. 275–276 (= *SEG* XXXV, 362). For references to the other sites see Graf, *Eleusis*, p. 172, n. 72.

[167] *CIG* 1948, once in the Museum Nannium in Venice, now apparently lost, is of unknown provenance. It is a dedication to Διόν]υσος Εὐβουλεύς and other gods, by the wife of a hierophant; but it is certainly not from Eleusis.

[168] Epictetus, *Diss.* 1.4.30 Schenkel, wrote: εἶτα Τριπτολέμωι μὲν ἱερὰ καὶ βωμοὺς πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἀνεστάκασιν, ὅτι τὰς ἡμέρους τροφὰς ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν. Schwenn, *RE* VIIA:1 (1939), s.v. Triptolemos, col. 215, correctly characterized it as "im ganzen ... wohl eine starke Übertreibung." Epictetus is contrasting the universal recognition of Triptolemos for *his* benefaction to the recognition granted to a benefactor who provides *intellectual* gifts, viz. Truth and Enlightenment. The universal recognition which he ascribes to Triptolemos is certainly correct, as coins of the Roman period bear witness (cf. the list in Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, pp. 62–65); it was an easy step to make this mythic recognition more graphic by alluding to religious recognition, "sacred places and altars" and then to exaggerate it (πάντες ἄνθρωποι). This is not to say that cult of Triptolemos did not occur outside Athens; it would not be surprising to find it in such great grain-producing regions as Egypt, South Italy, and Sicily. A papyrus from Antinoopolis, *PapAnt* I, 1950, No. 18, mentions Triptolemos in the context of Mysteries, apparently royal Mysteries; Nilsson, 'Royal Mysteries in Egypt', *HThR* 50, 1957, pp. 65–66 (= *Opuscula Selecta* III, pp. 326–328). A Locrian Pinax with a bearded Triptolemos, H. Prückner, *Die lokrischen Tonreliefs*, Mainz 1968, p. 79, Typ 122, pl. 30.4, shows local interest, and so local cult is conceivable; a similar relief has been found at Francavilla Marittima in Sicily.

[169] Eschbach's observation, *Statuen*, pp. 119–120, that the busts have clothing on their upper body, whereas in reliefs Triptolemos' chest is usually bare, also militates against identification with Triptolemos.

[170] *LIMC*, Eubouleus, following the warning of Metzger (*REG* 89, 1976, p. 409; *Mélanges Paul Collart*, Lausanne 1976, p. 299) that neither figure could be Eumolpos.

guish them properly it will first be necessary to examine the iconography of Iakchos, but since the question of his iconography can only be addressed as part of a broader discussion of Iakchos himself, it will be more convenient to do this in the next chapter.

This is the appropriate place to consider what the imagery of Ploutos and Eubouleus contributes to our understanding of the Mysteries.

IV. Eubouleus, the Thesmophoria, and the Mysteries

The Great Eleusinian Relief provides testimony that the god Ploutos was part of the imagery of the cult from at least the fifth century B.C.,[171] and this complements the literary tradition in which Ploutos appears as early as the end of the seventh century, viz. at the very end of the *Homeric Hymn*, just where the focus is on the Mysteries. The imagery of Eleusinian Ploutos can be traced till at least the Hadrianic era, when the image of the emperor appears on coins in the form of this god.[172] The artistic and epigraphic evidence for Eubouleus spans almost the same range of time, but Eubouleus was more than a central image or concept:[173] he was a god who was worshipped in the cult and, as we shall see in the next chapter, he played a major role in its myth. Yet there is no mention of Eubouleus in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*: another indication that the myth of the *Hymn* is not a reliable reflection of the Mysteries.

A more difficult question, since our documentation for the Thesmophoria in Attica is so scanty, is whether Eubouleus was actually worshipped in the Thesmophoria at Eleusis. It seems doubtful. The scholion to Lucian tells us the story of Eubouleus with reference to the Thesmophoria as a general Greek festival (ἑορτὴ Ἑλλήνων), as follows: "... when Kore was abducted by Plouton as she was picking flowers, there at that moment Eubouleus, a certain swineherd, was grazing his pigs, and they were swallowed up in the chasm of Kore. So in honor of Eubouleus piglets are thrown into the chasms of Demeter and Kore" which are called *megara*.[174] The scholiast uses this story as an aition for the Thesmophoria, but this tells us nothing definite about worship of Eubouleus specifically at the Thesmophoria at Eleusis, for he refers neither to Athens nor to Eleusis; he speaks only of a ἑορτὴ Ἑλλήνων. In the Cyclades a similar figure (called Zeus Eubouleus or Zeus Bouleus) was certainly worshipped at the Thesmophoria.[175] But for Eleusis and Attica in general we have no evidence. It is curious that no mention of him is made by the heraldess in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*, 295–300, when she urges the women to pray to a series of gods and goddesses associated with the Thesmophoria, and this tends to suggest that he was not a god of the Thesmophoria in Attica. What is much more decisive, however, is the fact that Plouton, along with Demeter and Kore, is one of the major gods in the Thesmo-

---

[171] The group on the phiale by Douris (Catalog, Attic Vase Painting, No. 1)—Plouton, Demeter, Kore, and (presumably) the infant Ploutos—are not represented here in the context of the Mysteries, though of course, on this *Athenian* vase, they are "Eleusinians." Cf. my discussion of the scene in *LIMC*, Ploutos, 5.

[172] Cf. Clinton, 'Hadrian's Contribution to the Renaissance of Eleusis', in S. Walker & A. Cameron, *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire* (BICS Supplement, 55) London 1989), pp. 56–68, esp. pp. 57–58.

[173] Ploutos did not receive sacrifice at Eleusis and so was not worshipped in the sense that Eubouleus was; no dedications to Ploutos are preserved. Although he was not an object of cult at Eleusis, he did play a role in the cult myth, as the representations suggest—his precise role will be discussed in the next chapter—and so in this sense may be said to have played a part in the cult. F.W. Hamdorf, *Griechische Kultpersonifikationen der vorhellenistischen Zeit*, Mainz 1964, p. 49, refers to Eleusis as the "principal site of [Ploutos'] worship," but the limited character of this "worship" needs to be kept in mind.

[174] Schol. Lucian, p. 275, line 25–p. 276, line 3 Rabe; on the source see Riedweg (above, Chap. 1, n. 107) pp. 116–120.

[175] Cf. Graf, *Eleusis*, p. 172, n. 72.

phoria at Eleusis[176] and in Attica.[177] As a rule, wherever Eubouleus (or Zeus Eubouleus/Bouleus) occurs in Thesmophoric cult (and related cults) with Demeter and Kore, Plouton does not appear,[178] for the simple reason that Eubouleus (i.e. Zeus Eubouleus/Bouleus) is the same sort of deity as Plouton, a god of fertility and abundance (like Zeus Chthonios, etc.).[179] (The equivalency of Eubouleus [spelled Euboulos] to Plouton is manifest in an *Orphic Hymn* [18.12], though here Plouton is actually Hades, abductor of Persephone, as in a grave epigram on Syros, where Eubouleus appears as husband of Persephone in the Underworld.[180]) Therefore if Plouton was worshipped in the Attic Thesmophoria, we ought not to find Eubouleus there as well, who was his equivalent in Thesmophoric contexts. If Eubouleus was not worshipped in the Thesmophoria at Eleusis or elsewhere in Attica, then the scholiast to Lucian (or his source) may have taken the episode about him, his pigs, and Triptolemos from a story that originally belonged to the context of the Mysteries and their μέγαρα and let it now perform a new duty, serving as an aition of the Thesmophoria. Evidently by now episodes from stories about gods of the Mysteries had crossed over into the mythic tradition of the Thesmophoria, a tradition which goes back to Archaic epic (Homeric *Hymn*, Pamphos, etc.). Another example of this phenomenon, but one that worked in the reverse direction, can be seen in the occurence of the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα in the story as compiled by Pseudo-Apollodorus.[181]

The most curious thing about Eubouleus is that the only place in which *he* is worshipped—as opposed to *Zeus* Eubouleus/Bouleus—is evidently at Eleusis, in connection with the Mysteries. In other words, so far as our evidence goes, Eubouleus is not worshipped anywhere else just as Eubouleus, but rather as Zeus Eubouleus or Zeus Bouleus.[182] Eubouleus in the Mysteries therefore is highly unusual; he is a specifically Eleusinian god who apparently is nowhere else named in this way in cult. He is similar to Zeus Eubouleus of the Cyclades and elsewhere in that he is a beneficent spirit of the earth, but he seems to be more different than similar, in that he cannot simply be another form of that god, for Plouton plays that role at Eleusis. In other words, Plouton at Eleusis is the equivalent of the Zeus Eubouleus of the Cyclades; Eubouleus in the Mysteries at Eleusis is a separate god and ought therefore to serve a different purpose (we shall see in the next chapter precisely what that purpose is.)

This raises the question of the relation, at Eleusis, of the Mysteries to the Thesmophoria.[183] The Thesmophoria, as I emphasized in

---

[176] Priestess of Plouton at Eleusis: *IG* II² 1363, lines 21–22; S. Dow & R.F. Healey, *A Sacred Calendar of Eleusis* (Harvard Theological Studies, 21), Cambridge, Mass., 1965, pp. 35–36.

[177] Ar., *Th.* 296, Πλούτω<ν>ι (for the emendation see n. 131).

[178] The following is based on the list in Graf, *Eleusis*, p. 172, n. 72, for *all* cults with "Eubouleus": Amorgos, *IG* XII 7, 76 (Demeter, Kore, and Zeus Eubouleus), 77 (Demeter, Kore, and [Eu]bouleus; but see below, n. 182); Delos, Thesmophoria (?), *IG* XI 287 A 69 (Demeter, Kore, and Zeus Eubouleus); Naxos, most likely Thesmophoria, *SEG* XVI, 478 (Demeter, Kore, Zeus Eubouleus, and Baubo), from a sanctuary which the excavator calls a "Thesmophorion"; Paros, Thesmophoria, *IG* XII 5, 227 (Demeter Thesmophoros, Kore, Zeus Eubouleus, and Baubo); Thasos, *SEG* XVIII, 343 (priestess of Zeus Eubouleus ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Δήμητρι βωμῶν); Corinth, *SEG* XI, 188 (Demeter, Zeus Bouleus, and [?]); Mykonos, Thesmophoric, *LSCG* 96, lines 16–17 (Demeter, Kore, Zeus Bouleus).

[179] On Zeus Chthonios, etc., see Nilsson, *GGR* I³, 'Zeus als Fruchtbarkeitsgott', pp. 401–402.

[180] *IG* XII 5, 677. Further evidence for Eubouleus as Hades: Jessen, *RE* VI (1907), s.v. Eubouleus, col. 864, no. 6.

[181] See above, Chap. 1, pp. 16, 30.

[182] *IG* XII 7, 77 (cf. above, n. 178), a statue base from Amorgos, is restored [κ]α[ὶ Εὐ]βουλεῖ. *IG* XII 7, 76, however, is dedicated to Zeus Eubouleus, which suggests that no. 77 may be incorrectly restored or the dedicator made a slight error.

[183] We cannot discuss here how cults of Eleusinian Demeter which evidently spread from Eleusis to Ionia and the Peloponnese in the Submycenaean/Protogeometric period were related to the Thesmophoria. An excellent brief discussion: Graf, *Kulte*, pp. 274–277. They are not Mystery cults but, evidently, mainly women's initiation rites, and therefore ought to be distinctly related to the Thesmophoria.

the preceding chapter, are probably a much older festival, while the Mysteries seem to be relatively new, created out of many of the constituent elements of the Thesmophoria and other such festivals.[184] Strikingly new is their accessibility to a much wider circle—to both men and women and eventually slaves and foreigners. Another important departure consists in a new and different focus. While the Mysteries kept the fundamentally agrarian concerns of the Thesmophoria, at least on a symbolic level, now succinctly expressed in the image of Ploutos, their new focus is on the afterlife,[185] specifically on the condition of the souls of the initiates in the Underworld. This post-mortem focus presupposes that the world of the dead is now somehow linked to the world of the grain. In the Mysteries this conjunction is expressed on the divine level: the upperworld agrarian gods, Plouton and Kore, are also underworld gods, Theos and Thea.[186] But, historically, the critical step toward this linking of the two worlds probably occurred earlier, before the genesis of the Eleusinian Mysteries, at the time when Plouton and Kore coalesced with the gods known generally as Hades and Persephone.[187] Although this coalescence probably occurred prior to the Mysteries, the Mysteries took major advantage of it, and at the same time the Mysteries continued to keep the upper- and underworld pairs distinct: as Plouton and Kore, Theos and Thea. So we see them in the Lakrateides Relief (*Fig. 5*).

In cults like the Thesmophoria, on the other hand, there was no such union because there was scarcely any cultic interest in the gods that presided over the souls of the dead;[188] the principal gods in these cults remained the old, familiar agrarian ones, Demeter, Kore, and Plouton (or Zeus Eubouleus/Bouleus; Zeus Chthonios, etc.); there was no great interest in the Theos and Thea. In the myth that is central to the Thesmophoria only the marriage matters: Kore, the grainseed, is taken into the earth, not beneath the earth but just into the earth where the grain grows, i.e. into the chthonian realm of that great god who brings abundance, Plouton, not into the deep realm populated by the souls and ruled over by Hades, or Zeus Katachthonios.[189] In a purely agrarian cult like the Thesmophoria Kore must be joined with Plouton, for without her he cannot exist: simply stated, without the grain there can be no god of agrar-

---

[184] I say "seem," for in the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to "prove" it. But the hypothesis makes more sense than one that supposes that the Mysteries go back to the Late Bronze Age. See discussion above, pp. 29–35.

[185] Worshippers in Thesmophoric cults in the historical period of course well knew that Kore was Persephone, and it was important to placate this powerful underworld goddess; cf. Hom. *Hymn*, lines 365–369. Cults related to the dead sometimes appear near sanctuaries of Demeter, e.g. at Selinus, on which see below, n. 188.

[186] See above, p. 51, and Appendix 4.

[187] On Hades see especially Nilsson, *GGR* I³, pp. 452–454; cf. Schauenburg, pp. 47–48. Persephone: G. Zuntz, *Persephone*, Oxford 1971, pp. 75–77.

[188] Thus I find unconvincing the emphasis in G. Zuntz's interesting book, *Persephone*, but the problems cannot be adequately discussed here. He shows how easy it is to lose sight of Kore and see only Persephone. One example: he refers, p. 157, to the head of Persephone on Syracusan coins, but the inscription, on one of Agathokles' issues, is ΚΟΡΑΣ. Plutarch, *Timol.* 8, says that Sicily is ἱερὰν τῆς Κόρης, not Περσεφόνης.

At Selinus, next to the cult of Demeter Malophoros, which was probably a cult of the Thesmophoric type, there was a cemetery with interesting associations with Zeus Meilichios; cf. Nilsson, *GGR* I³, pp. 413–414. Cf. above, n. 185.

[189] The division of "chthonian" and "hypochthonian" is neatly expressed by Porphyry, *De Antr. Nymph.* 6: ὡς γὰρ τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς ναούς τε καὶ ἕδη καὶ βωμοὺς ἱδρύσαντο, χθονίοις δὲ καὶ ἥρωσιν ἐσχάρας, ὑποχθονίοις δὲ βόθρους καὶ μέγαρα—though we may question his assignment of *megara* to the hypochthonian. Cf. Orph. *Hym.*, Proem, 32–33. This division, however, is somewhat artificial; in practice, e.g., it was often easy to confuse the chthonian realm with the hypochthonian (Where does the one end and the other begin?); and the word χθόνιος was quite elastic, so that if the context is not clear, it may be difficult to decide whether the term refers to a god on or in the earth or to an underworld god. The topic is important but cannot be pursued here. Suffice it to say that the Greeks could of course distinguish between chthonian gods, in the sense of gods of the earth, and hypochthonian gods, i.e. gods of the Underworld. On Zeus Chthonios see Nilsson (above, n. 179).

ian abundance.[190] This union is expressed through a marriage (or a rape).[191] Originally, I assume, in the context of the Thesmophoria a myth about a journey to Hades was unnecessary; all that was required was a union of Plouton and Kore. But once Kore and Plouton were identified with Persephone and Hades, from that moment on an abduction myth which brought Kore to the Underworld could serve equally well for the Mysteries or for the Thesmophoria. For the Thesmophoria it did not matter if Kore made a longer journey than before (now into the deep realm of Hades as opposed to the chthonian lair of Plouton); the trip to the Underworld would lend color to the myth but would be accidental to the religious focus of the Thesmophoria: the important thing is that Kore enters the earth and joins Plouton (whether he is identified with Hades or not). In the Mysteries, on the contrary, it is vitally important that she become Queen of the Underworld, i.e. the Thea to whom the initiates can turn when it is their lot to enter Hades.

In theory, then, various myths about the abduction of Kore would suit the context of the Thesmophoria, ranging from a relatively simple union of Plouton and Kore in the upper world to an abduction to the Underworld. But a story that was related to the Mysteries would have to make the destination be Hades. The scene on an amphora in Naples (*Fig. 72*), which seems to presuppose no such journey to the Underworld, would therefore suit the Thesmophoria better than the Mysteries; it shows Plouton with his *horn of plenty* in pursuit of Kore.[192] A hydria in Würzburg may offer another example evocative of the Thesmophoria;[193] it has a marriage scene: a bearded man on a chariot holds a woman forcibly by his side; beside the horses walks a woman with a torch, looking back at the pair. The scene is framed on the left by a statue of (perhaps) Hekate,[194] on the right by a woman looking up, startled, in the midst of pouring a libation on an altar. F. Hölscher takes the scene to be the marriage of Plouton and Kore.[195] In the absence of perfectly clear attributes or parallels his interpretation must remain hypothetical, but this (relatively) tranquil scene would not be inappropriate as an aition of the Thesmophoria. Despite its tranquillity it is not inconsistent with the description of Kore's union with Plouton as a ἁρπαγή.[196] The hydria, if this interpretation is correct, would show us, as does the amphora in Naples, a marriage of Kore and Plouton (rather than Hades).

Unfortunately, the equation of Plouton with Hades and of Kore with Persephone has caused us considerable confusion. We should try, as far as possible, to avoid this confusion, whether we believe (as I do) that originally the pairs were distinct, or whether we believe that Kore/Persephone and Pluton/Hades were each always a single god with dual aspects.[197] Athenians (and Greeks in general) were usually careful in iconography and cult to distinguish Plou-

---

[190] Kore as grain: Eubulus, *Orthanes*, frg. 75 Kock; cf. Nilsson, 'Gottheiten', p. 572; Sfameni-Gasparro, p. 141, n. 4.

[191] On the marriage or rape see further below, Appendix 3, Part II, pp. 111–112.

[192] The vase: see Appendix 3, p. 109, No. 77.

[193] The vase: Appendix 3, p. 109, No. 81; *LIMC*, Demeter, 311 with pl.

[194] Cf. the similar figure of Hekate in BM E 183, discussed below in Appendix 3, Part III. On Hekate and the Thesmophoria see above, pp. 33–34, and Appendix 5.

[195] 'Der Raub der Kore im 5. Jahrhundert', *Tainia: Festschrift für Roland Hampe*, Mainz 1980, pp. 173–179, pl. 42.1–3.

[196] Abduction in antiquity (*raptus*, ἁρπαγή) was, as J. Evans-Grubbs points out, in 'Abduction Marriage in Antiquity', *JRS* 79, 1989, pp. 59–83, esp. 67–69 (on the rape of Persephone and abduction in wedding scenes on Athenian vases), a type of marriage in which the girl was often a willing participant but the parents were not: "Anthropologists have shown that, in those Mediterranean societies in which bride theft still occurs, anything from a violent kidnapping and rape to what is in effect a mutually agreed elopement is described by the same term" (ibid., p. 65). Abduction motifs occur even in more normal marriages.

[197] It would take us astray to present arguments here for my own view, which does not differ much from that of Nilsson and Zuntz (above, n. 187); in any case either view I think is compatible with the conclusions toward which we are proceeding.

ton from Hades and Kore from Persephone. In iconography they usually gave these gods different attributes or contexts;[198] cult inscriptions mention Plouton and Kore, but only very rarely Persephone or Hades.[199] We therefore should follow their practice and use the correct names. Of course in Classical poetry and in common parlance there is considerable confusion, because of the tendency to use the more reassuring "Plouton" in place of the awe-inspiring "Hades".[200] Even so, the feeling seems to have persisted, though it was rarely articulated, that Hades and Plouton were different gods. Pausanias, for example, well knew that Plouton was worshipped far and wide, but in speaking of the Eleans he says (6.25.2): "Of all men we know only the Eleans worship Hades...."[201] It was natural to think of Hades as different from Plouton.

What is interesting is how the new festival of the Mysteries combined innovation with continuity of practice. Aischrologia, a major component of the Thesmophoria, reappears in a more peripheral way in the Mysteries, in the form of Gephyrismos. The purifying properties of the Callichoron Well, so crucial to the Thesmophoria, were also put to use in the Mysteries.[202] The Mirthless Rock, with its entrance to Hades, was of course irrelevant to the Thesmophoria, so in early myth relating to the Thesmophoria it goes unmentioned. On the other hand, the practice of dropping piglets into pits known as μέγαρα is a striking example of continuity of practice.[203] The Kourotrophic aspect, so much in the foreground of the Thesmophoria (expressed mythically in the Demophon episode), is naturally absent in the Mysteries with its strong focus on death; but even so, a vestige of this aspect remains on the level of symbol, in the figure of the boy Ploutos, who in painting seems to make a sudden and startling appearance as soon as Kore has returned to her mother. Ploutos is the child of the grain harvest who sustains the hearth, and in cult his human counterpart may well be the παῖς ἀφ' ἑστίας. So the Mysteries keep much of the older symbols and practices but present them to a much wider audience in a new combination with a major new focus—the realm of the dead presided over by the Thea who is Kore.

---

[198] For the iconography of Plouton see Appendix 3.

[199] In Sokolowski, *LSS* 10, line 63, Pherrephatte, appearing after Demeter, is no doubt meant as Kore; Persephone in *LSCG* 63, line 13 (Sparta) is also Kore. With regard to the first instance see the following note.

[200] Plouton: cf. Pl. *Cra.* 403a. In Attic vase painting the name Hades is, if I am not mistaken, inscribed only once (Appendix 3, Part I, No. 151). But the name Persephone is not rare; cf. L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, Berlin 1980, p. 451. Its frequency at Athens may be due to the success of the Mysteries in mitigating her fearsome character. Occasionally in inscriptions the process went so far that the name Persephone intrudes where Kore is traditional: e.g., in fourth-century inventories of hydriai we find once [Δήμ]ητρος καὶ Φερρεφ[άττ]ης [ὑδρία] (*IG* II² 1437.II, line 58), otherwise the hydriai are Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης (*IG* II² 1424.II, line 241; 1425.II, line 186; 1429.I, line 14, etc.). It is probably to the same process that we may attribute an occasional instance in sacred laws (see previous note) or on a dedication, e.g. Φερσεφόνα on a base set up by the Hermionians at Delphi (*FdD* III, 4, 147).

[201] ἀνθρώπων δὲ ὧν ἴσμεν μόνοι τιμῶσιν Ἄιδην Ἠλεῖοι κατὰ αἰτίαν τήνδε. Porphyry, *ad Il.*, 1.133.22, notes that in no city does an altar for Hades exist (and then quotes Aeschylus, frg. 279); there were of course altars for Plouton all over Greece.

[202] Cf. Clinton, 'Sacrifice', p. 78. On the hydranos, who may have had a role by the entrance of the sanctuary and the Callichoron, cf. Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, p. 98.

[203] On the practice see now my article, 'Sacrifice'. In practical terms, the piglets deposited at the Mysteries probably were often hauled up at the Thesmophoria, but of course the custom of μεγαρίζειν at the Mysteries and the Thesmophoria at Eleusis cannot have been instituted for the purpose of such coordination between the two festivals. At the Thesmophoria the women must have deposited the piglets at one celebration with the expectation of hauling them up at the next. Though scholars have sometimes said that the piglets will have virtually disappeared over the course of an entire year and there would be no rotted remains to haul up, the black soil that Philios found in the *megara* retained the effects of the rotted piglets for well over a millenium! The σαπέντα need not be putrid; the critical thing was probably the special character of the soil that was produced.

III

More Gods, the Scenes, and the Myth of the Mysteries

I. Iakchos

Iakchos has been one of the most difficult Eleusinian gods to distinguish in Classical art. F. Graf recently equated him with a figure who has the features of Dionysus, including the thyrsos.[1] His analysis also led him to conclude (following Erika Simon) that the young man with torches whom we have identified as Eubouleus is Eumolpos.[2] This, to be sure, is impossible. On a skyphos by Makron in London (*Fig. 51*) Eumolpos (identified by an inscription) holds not torches but a scepter (Catalog, Eumolpos, Painting, No. 1); and this is exactly what we should expect: Eumolpos is a Ἱεροφάντης, the very first Hierophant, and should not have the attributes of the other main priest at Eleusis, the Torchbearer (Δᾳδοῦχος).[3] What led Graf astray was his reliance on reliefs from Mondragone and Chalkis (Catalog, Iakchos, Sculpture, Nos. [3 and 4]). But since the original context of these reliefs is unknown, neither offers a reliable starting-point.

The relief from Chalkis must be put aside simply because it does not come from Eleusis; it represents a specific cult in which Dionysus is important but not the cult at Eleusis. In the case of the Mondragone relief the interpretation of some of the main figures is uncertain. Although an Eleusinian origin for the relief has often been asserted, it has never been proved. The uniqueness of this relief and the difficulties it has posed for interpretation urge us not to take an Eleusinian origin for granted; in any case it would be unwise to start from such an uncertain basis in our discussion of other documents that are definitely Eleusinian.

We should, as I stressed in the last chapter, start with monuments and testimonia that certainly derive from or reflect the Eleusinian Mysteries.[4]

First, Pausanias (1.2.4). He informs us that in a temple of Demeter in Athens, near the Pompeion by the Sacred Gate, there were three statues by Praxiteles: Demeter, Kore, and Iakchos, who held a torch. The torch, clearly, is significant. Our fullest description of Iakchos appears in Aristophanes' *Frogs*:[5] in the Underworld the chorus of dancing initiates call upon Iakchos to join them, and to wear the initiates' traditional myrtle wreath (325–335).[6] They address him as the "light-bearing star of the *telete* in the night" (340–342), for he (like the initi-

---

[1] Graf, *Eleusis*, pp. 60–62.

[2] Simon, 'Neue Deutung', pp. 89–90, now *LIMC*, Iakchos, on which see below, nn. 25 and 58.

[3] On the priests: Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, Chapters I and II, esp. pp. 32–35, 48; also below, p. 75.

[4] For this reason, too, we leave aside the Lovatelli Urn and the Torre Nova Sarcophagus; see Catalog, Eubouleus, Sculpture, No. [5] with n. 4.

[5] An excellent recent discussion: Graf, *Eleusis*, pp. 40–50.

[6] On the myrtle wreath cf. *Sacred Officials*, pp. 101–108; Graf, *Eleusis*, p. 44, n. 27 (bibliography); M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (RVV, 38), Berlin 1982, pp. 252–253, 282–283.

ates in the procession) carries a torch.[7] They call him ξυνέμπορος, "fellow-traveller" (396); he is to be their escort to "the goddess," ἡ θεά, here in the Underworld (evidently) Persephone[8] (397–403), just as in the festival he escorted them to Demeter. They shout: "Iakchos, lover of the dance, join in escorting me!"

It is interesting that he is not specifically called "leader" in the *Frogs*.[9] But Strabo calls him ἀρχηγέτην τῶν Μυστηρίων, τῆς Δήμητρος δαίμων,[10] having in mind no doubt the prominent position of Iakchos during the march of the initiates to Eleusis on Boedromion 20.[11] In this procession the image of the god, most likely of wood, was carried by a sacred official called *Iakchagogos*;[12] and upon arrival in Eleusis the image was the focal point of a great celebration—the "Reception of Iakchos."[13] This image was probably carried at the head of the procession, but the chorus in the *Frogs* regarded Iakchos as a fellow marcher, and this feeling of cameraderie no doubt corresponded to the actual feeling that the worshippers felt in the annual procession.

He was the personification of the mystic cry, the ἴακχος.[14] On the origin and meaning of this cry Kern's remarks are worth quoting:

> Man möchte meinen, dass dieser Jubelruf zuerst den Göttinnen von Eleusis gegolten hat, wenn er überhaupt nicht ein ganz allgemeiner, in verschiedenen Kulten Attikas gebräuchlicher Festruf gewesen ist. Inhaltlich und formell wird ihn wohl niemand je genau deuten können. Aber fehlgehen wird man schwerlich, wenn man in ihm einen höchsten Ausdruck der Freude finden will.[15]

It seems likely that the joyous cry ἴακχε, was originally common to other cults, especially Dionysiac cults, and the appellation Ἴακχος (like Βάκχος) came to be used for Dionysus. There are many instances, especially in poetry, where the word Ἴακχος simply means Διόνυσος; i.e. where it has nothing to do with the Eleusinian god of initiates.[16] Euripides uses the word ἴακχος to indicate a Dionysiac song.[17] In a famous passage in Sophocles' *Antigone* (line 1151), the name Ἴακχος simply indicates Dionysus, not the Eleusinian god. There the chorus call upon the god to appear to his attendant Thyiads who are in a frenzy (μαινόμεναι) all night long: this is Dionysus in his typical role as god of Maenads. Maenads

---

[7] See the discussion, Graf, *Eleusis*, p. 46, n. 36, of the emendations; Erbse's reading (following Meineke) seems best; in any case the description of Iakchos implies that he carries torches.

[8] "The Goddess" at Eleusis, ἡ θεά, was Persephone; see above, p. 51, and Appendix 4.

[9] Despite Burn, *Meidias*, p. 72: "It is Iacchos whom the initiates in Aristophanes' *Frogs* salute as their leader and *choregos*..." The *choregos* of the play is unknown; the *koryphaios*, whom Burn must mean by "*choregos*," is certainly not Iakchos. But the initiates do recognize the pre-eminence of Iakchos in their procession: even though they do not call him "leader," he clearly is their divine guide.

[10] 10.3.10. Strabo's phrase τῆς Δήμητρος δαίμων evokes this god's close relationship to Demeter but also suggests that as *her* δαίμων he was an attendant; Strabo tended to use δαίμων to mean πρόπολος (cf. 10.3.19; 10.3.7).

[11] On the date and the day: Clinton, 'Sacrifice', p. 70.

[12] *Sacred Officials*, pp. 96–97. Geomini (below, n. 38), pp. 256–257, proposed that the role of Iakchos in the procession was played by a priest, viz. the Daduch, but it would be strange then to have a Iakchagogos render assistance to a "living god". On Geomini's discussion of the age of the Daduch see below, p. 70, n. 38.

[13] On the "Reception": Clinton, 'Sacrifice', pp. 70–71.

[14] Hdt. 8.65; Arr. *An.* 2.16; cf. Foucart, *Mystères*, pp. 110–112. Because Iakchos personified this cry, Foucart (so also Kern, *RE* IX (1914), s.v. Iakchos) saw him as a late addition to the gods of the Eleusinian Mysteries. In this he is probably correct; he drew further support from the fact that the Reception of Iakchos at Eleusis implied that the god had no temple there. However, unaware of any representations of Iakchos in art, he implied that Iakchos first took on divine form in the fifth century. So late a date is unconvincing; cf. Graf, *Eleusis*, p. 58, n. 43. The late date would be ruled out if I am correct in restoring his name in *IG* II^3 5, line 4 (following Lenormant); see Clinton, 'Sacrifice', p. 70, and my forthcoming edition of the inscriptions of Eleusis.

[15] Kern (above, n. 14), col. 614.

[16] For example: *A.P.* 9.82, 11.59, 11.64; *PMG* 33b, 109d; Ath. 15.678A; E. *Ba.* 725; Lucian, *Salt.* 39; Lucr. 4.1160; Cat. 64.251; Verg. *E.* 6.15; cf. Kern (above, n. 14), cols. 619–622.

[17] See Graf, *Eleusis*, p. 56.

have nothing to do with Iakchos; they do not play a role in the procession to Eleusis or in the Reception of Iakchos at Eleusis.

The passage in the *Antigone* simply offers another example of the fact that the name Iakchos had by this time become interchangeable in poetry with Βάκχος.[18] But in the Mysteries the Ἴακχος, originally the cry in the procession, became a personified god. This fact and everything else we know about the character of the procession suggest that the experience of the initiates during their march to Eleusis and their arrival at the sanctuary was rather Dionysiac in spirit.[19]

The chorus in the *Antigone* could also sing of Dionysus, who they refer to as the god born of Semele and Zeus (1115–1116), with the words "and you hold sway in the all-welcoming folds of Eleusinian Demeter" (1119–1121). Here they are referring to the sanctuary of Dionysus (with its important theater) on the hill of Eleusis ("the folds of Eleusinian Demeter"),[20] and perhaps in a poetic way, to the Dionysiac exuberance which held sway in some parts of the Mysteries, such as the Reception of Iakchos. Dionysus must have been felt to have a presence in this part of the Mysteries even though he never held an official position in the cult as Iakchos did.[21] Yet despite the common character of Iakchos the Eleusinian and of Dionysus, it is important to remember that the two gods could be distinguished in an Eleusinian setting and were distinguished.[22] There is never any confusion in epigraphical documents. While Dionysus could be called Ἴακχος, an Athenian would not normally call Eleusinian Iakchos Dionysus.[23] We must not speak of an "identification" of Iakchos and Dionysus: "Iakchos" was

[18] Sophocles (*Ant.* 1151; fr. 959 Radt) is the first example, to my knowledge; cf. Foucart (above, n. 14).

[19] As Foucart and others realized. Cf. most recently Graf, *Eleusis*, pp. 55–58 (bibliography), who expresses it well: "Aus diesen Zeugnissen geht hervor, dass dem Zug nach Eleusis eine enthusiastische, den Dionysosfeiern ähnliche Stimmung innewohnte: man sang, schwang Fackeln, tanzte; typisch dionysische Phänomene, welche auf eine leichte Trance hindeuten (was nach dem langen Fasten und der anstrengenden Wanderung in einer erwartungsvollen Menschenmenge nicht verwunderlich wäre), wie das Mittanzen der Umgebung und die Mühelosigkeit grosser Anstrengungen, haben auch dazu gehört." Note, too, similarity of terminology between Iakchos in *Frogs* and Dionysus in Euripides' *Bacchae*; e.g., in both cases he is ξυνέμπορος (*Ran.* 396, *Bacch.* 57).

[20] Here the chorus list Eleusis among places famous for their cults of Dionysus: Italy, Thebes, Parnassus. At Eleusis Dionysus received cult not in the Mysteries but at his well-known sanctuary on the slope of the hill; it has not yet been found but is well attested epigraphically: see below, Appendix 6, pp. 124–125.

[21] He did not receive sacrifice at the Mysteries, and there was no priest of Dionysus. The Dionysiac atmosphere may also have been enhanced by the fact that Eleusis also belonged to Dionysus: see preceding note.

[22] Cf. Strabo 10.3.10; Arr. *An.* 2.16.3; scholion Ar. *Ran.* 324. Strabo is aware of the dual use of the name Iakchos: "and [the Greeks] call Iakchos both Dionysus and the leader of the Mysteries, the *daimon* of Demeter." Arrian refers to Iakchos as a kind of Athenian Dionysus, as opposed to the Theban Dionysus. The scholion to the *Frogs*: ἄλλοι δὲ [sc. φασι] ἕτερον Διονύσου [Διόνυσον MS] εἶναι τὸν Ἴακχον, οἱ δὲ τὸν αὐτόν. Note that some writers use the adjective μυστικός of Iakchos to make clear that they are referring to the Eleusinian; e.g., Plut. *Them.* 15, *Cam.* 19; Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4.62 (quoted below, Catalog, Iakchos, Sculpture, No. 1). Nonnus, 48.962–965, distinguishes Iakchos from the son of Semele; in 31.66–69 it is also clear that he is not simply to be equated with Dionysus, and it seems that he is also being distinguished from Ἐλευσίνιος Διόνυσος, but that is not certain.

[23] Non-Athenians were struck by the confusion and sometimes succumbed; e.g., Aristid. 41.10 and Philodamus, ed. Powell, *Coll. Alex.*, p. 166, lines 32–35 (new edition by B.L. Rainer and English translation appended to A. Stewart, 'Dionysos at Delphi: The Pediments of the Sixth Temple of Apollo and Religious Reform in the Age of Alexander', in B. Barr-Sharrar & E. Borza, *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times* [Studies in the History of Art, 10, National Gallery of Art] Washington 1982, pp. 216–220). Philodamus seems to refer both to the cult of Dionysus at Eleusis (lines 27–30) and to Iakchos in the Mysteries (lines 32–36), whom he sees as simply another manifestation of Dionysus. The equation made by Aristides and Philodamus between the Eleusinian Iakchos and Dionysus is a different sort of thing from the simple use of the name Iakchos to indicate Dionysus; Graf, *Eleusis*, pp. 51–53, does not clearly distinguish the two phenomena.

one of many names that could be given to Dionysus,[24] but the Iakchos at Eleusis was a distinct god, born no doubt of the Dionysiac milieu in the mystic procession. Specific literary descriptions of the Eleusinian Iakchos, as in the *Frogs* and Pausanias, do not give him any of the traditional attributes of Dionysus, such as the thyrsos or nebris. Instead, Iakchos carries a torch (or torches). In the *Frogs* he is to appear, like the initiates, with a myrtle wreath, and of course he is to escort the initiates on their way.

In works of art, therefore, we should look for a god with a torch in the company of initiates.[25] The figure that best fits this description is the youthful male in the lower field of the Ninnion Tablet (*Frontispiece*; Catalog, Painting, No. 1).[26] He carries a torch in each hand, and is followed by two initiates. Both he and the initiates wear wreaths which are stylized but certainly myrtle in this Eleusinian setting. The initiates' sticks and sacks indicate their journey to Eleusis; but now they are at their destination, for Iakchos is leading them toward a seated goddess (at first glance, either Demeter or Kore). What is remarkable is that Iakchos looks so much like the figure we have identified as Eubouleus: he is relatively young, with long locks, a knee-length garment, and high boots; and he carries a torch. We have to conclude, then, that the pairs of young torch-bearing gods in the same costume who appear on two vases (*Figs. 17–19, 24*; Catalog, Eubouleus, Painting, Nos. 4 and 5) are Iakchos and Eubouleus. But how are we to tell them apart, and how do we know in the scenes where only one of them appears whether he is Eubouleus or Iakchos?

The Ninnion Tablet provides the clue. All of the initiates, male and female, in both upper and lower fields, wear a himation; the men have just a himation, the women a himation over a peplos. The himation, as we know also from Aristophanes' *Plutus*, was the traditional garment of

[24] Cf. Cornutus, *ND* 59: βρόμιος δὲ καὶ Βάκχος καὶ Ἴακχος καὶ εὐιος καὶ βαβάκτης καὶ Ἰόβακχος καλεῖται κτλ.

[25] E. Simon, *LIMC* V, s.v. Iakchos, pp. 612–614, repeats her previous view (see above, p. 64) that the iconography of Iakchos and Dionysus is identical. She prefaces her discussion of Iakchos in vase painting with three "Premisses" which are to serve as a guide to the identification of his iconography. However, "Premise *a*," viz. that in the Classical period (and earlier) Dionysus and Eleusinian Iakchos were equated (*gleichgesetzt*) except in cult, is, as we have seen, incorrect. "Premise *b*" (which follows from "Premise *a*"), viz. that Dionysus and Iakchos should not be very different iconographically, and probably never appear together in the same scene, must therefore also be incorrect. "Premise *c*," viz. that Iakchos is not a king of Eleusis (and therefore should not carry a scepter), is of course correct. "Premise *d*," viz. that the figure I (and others) have identified as Iakchos has a double, is also correct, but it does not necessarily follow that these iconographical doubles have to be identified with Eumolpos and Keryx. In fact, in identifying one of these torchbearers with Eumolpos she violates her "Premise *c*," because Eumolpos was indeed a king of Eleusis and ought not to carry a torch but a scepter.

Although in "Premise *a*" she correctly follows Graf in pointing out that Iakchos had separate cult from Dionysus, earlier she claims that there was an "identification not only in poetry but also in Eleusinian cult" on the basis of Schol. A. *Ranae* 479. However, the scholion refers not to Eleusinian cult but to the Lenaia. The daduch plays a role in this festival (which can hardly be called "Eleusinian cult") in that at some point he announces: "Call the god." And the listeners shout: "Son of Semele Iakche Ploutodota (Σεμελήι' Ἴακχε πλουτοδότα)." The "son of Semele" is of course Dionysus (in the case of Eleusinian Iakchos, the personification of the mystic cry, a mother does not come into question, and in fact none is securely attested); Dionysus simply receives here two epithets, Iakchos and Ploutodotes. The scholion shows only that some Eleusinian priests had roles in other cults; it cannot be stretched to imply that a cult of Dionysus (the Lenaia) is equivalent to the cult of Iakchos at Eleusis.

[26] Ninnion is the correct name rather than the commonly cited but barbarous Niinnion. The hasta taken for a second iota does seem to be original, but it is not as tall as the preceding iota and the spacing is not right for a letter in this inscription. It looks as though the inscriber carved the first stroke of the nu, realized it was too close to the iota, stopped, and then inscribed the nu with proper spacing. We should therefore read: Νί[ι]ννιον τοῖν θε[οῖ]ν ἀ[νέθηκε]. So also H.R. Immerwahr, *Attic Script: A Survey*, Oxford 1990, p. 118, no. 825.

the initiates at the Mysteries.[27] Here, in fact, Iakchos, the god of the mystic journey, also wears one, on top of his elaborately decorated tunic. Is this the attribute that distinguishes Iakchos when he appears with Eubouleus? It is indeed. On the Pourtalès crater (*Fig. 24*; Catalog, Eubouleus, Painting, No. 4) Eubouleus and Iakchos wear their typical identical costumes and a wreath (presumably myrtle); each carries a torch in his right hand; but the figure on the left wears a himation, draped over his right shoulder. In addition, he holds his left hand out in a gesture of introduction, and seems to introduce the initiates who follow him, namely the two Dioscuri, symbolized by the star near the head of the one on the right; they also wear (only) a himation, and carry the mystic wand (which is sometimes called *bakchos*, probably incorrectly, by modern scholars).[28] Immediately to Iakchos' right stands Herakles, recognizable from the club in his left hand; he too is an initiate, wearing a himation and carrying the initiate's wand in his right hand. Once again, Iakchos appears associated with the initiates arriving at the sanctuary, which is indicated by the Doric capitals in the rear.

In the relief hydria from Cumae known as the Regina Vasorum (*Figs. 17–19*; Catalog, Eubouleus, Painting, No. 5) Iakchos and Eubouleus stand in symmetrical positions in relation to Demeter and Kore who are located in the center; they are nos. 2 and 9 in the drawing (*Ill. 9*, p. 79). Iakchos is easily identified as the figure on the left (no. 2) by his himation (draped across his chest), which Eubouleus lacks. Here Eubouleus happens to have two torches to Iakchos' one, which reveals that the number of torches is not significant. Heracles (*Ill. 9*, no. 7), the only initiate present, wears a himation draped around his waist; he carries both club and mystic wand in his right hand, a piglet in his left. Dionysus appears separately, between Triptolemos and Demeter.

Iakchos: The Boston Stamnos

On a fragment of a stamnos in Boston by the Painter of the Carlsruhe Paris (*Figs. 31–32*) a youthful figure carrying two torches looks toward an Eleusinian initiate on his right. The initiate, crowned with a myrtle wreath, carries the mystic staff of myrtle in his left hand, and looks toward the figure with the torches. B.H. Hill read part of an inscription above this torch-bearing figure as]ΠΟΣ. This required that the figure be Eumolpos, and produced iconographic perplexity.

Hill's reading was later attested by Caskey.[29] In further checks *ca.* 1960 and 1983, however, the letters could not be located.[30] H. Immerwahr kindly advised me that he had seen them in 1946, and provided me with a drawing made from his notes. In May, 1987, when I looked at the fragment, the drawing proved most helpful in locating the inscription. It lies above the head, but at the very edge of the fragment; its color is faded, and only by tilting the fragment to catch the light at a certain angle is it possible to see the discoloration left by the letters. In reverse order, i.e. from right to left, these are the traces that are visible. Of the four-barred sigma, the lower two strokes are preserved, plus the very end of the next higher stroke; the topmost stroke is not preserved (it lies above the break). Of the omicron, approximately three fourths are visible below the break, with a small portion missing also from its lower right quadrant. The crucial letter before the omicron is very difficult to read. The lower tips of two hastae are discernible just below the break, but they are so small and insubstantial that it is impossible to state with confidence that they are real traces of a letter. The "right stroke" seems too close to the omicron for it to be part of a properly spaced letter; even so we cannot rule it out as a trace. The "left stroke" seems to slant towards the right, and the "right stroke" seems to slant to the left so that they may inter-

---

[27] Lines 842–845. There it is called a τριβώνιον: Μῶν οὖν ἐμυήθης δῆτ' ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ μεγάλα; (845).

[28] See above, p. 49, n. 102.

[29] Nilsson, 'Gottheiten', p. 567, n. 76.

[30] Berard, *Anodoi*, p. 94, n. 5; L. Weidauer, 'Eumolpos und Athen', pp. 207–209, recording an inspection by E.T. Vermeule.

sect and form, e.g., chi. The "right stroke," though it does not descend as far as the "left stroke," descends too far to be read as the right vertical stroke of a pi. In any case, as I said, both seem to be too tenuous to be read as certain strokes of a letter, but if they were read as such, they could form part of an alpha, lambda, or chi. Pi, on the other hand, is quite unlikely. Shortly after my inspection Lucilla Burn's book on the Meidias Painter appeared, in which she reported that she could only read the omicron and sigma.[31] That is probably all we are justified in reading.

The figure with the torches is wearing a himation over a short, sleeved tunic, and is interacting with an initiate (possibly Heracles); he clearly has the attributes of Iakchos. The inscription can therefore be restored as [Ἴακχ]ος or perhaps [Ἴακ]χος.

Iakchos: Other Vase Paintings

A hydria in Athens (*Fig. 33*; Catalog, Painting, No. 3) shows the initiation of Heracles. On the left Heracles with his club is sitting on his himation and holding the initiate's wand; and Iakchos, with his typical costume, including himation and torches, stands on the far right; the two of them, initiate and god of initiates, frame the scene.

A belly amphora in Cos (*Fig. 34*; Catalog, Painting, No. 8) proves to be exceptional in showing Iakchos without a himation, but his torches and familiar company of initiates (the Dioscuri and Heracles) leave no doubt about his identity.[32] This is our earliest representation of the Dioscuri as initiates, and falls close in time to the speech that Kallias the daduch made to the Lacedaemonians, in which he stressed the ancient bond between them and Athens, a bond that was strengthened through Triptolemos' invitation to Heracles and the Dioscuri to become initiates.[33]

On a lekanis cover in Tübingen (*Fig. 30*; Catalog, Iakchos, Painting, No. 6) a youthful torchbearer stands between the two Dioscuri who are on horseback (the one at the right appears to have a himation). Unfortunately only the top of his head and the torch are preserved. Heracles stands between Athena and Dionysus, and wears the himation of an initiate. In any case, the close association of the torchbearer with the Dioscuri suggests that he is Iakchos.

The central figure on a vase of the second quarter of the fifth century, a skyphos in Brussels (*Fig. 35*; Catalog, Painting, No. 7), is usually taken to be a hierophant; E. Simon has called him Eumolpos.[34] But the hierophant should hold a scepter, not torches, and a scepter should also be the attribute of Eumolpos, the first hierophant (see below, IV. Eumolpos). The myrtle wreath, torches, himation, and the presence of two initiates tell us that this is most likely Iakchos. Except for his attributes, he looks very much like a Dionysus of this period, with his beard, long locks, and mature, stately appearance—most unlike the lively figure on the Ninnion Tablet. This is a surprise, but, on reflection, it ought not to be. Triptolemos too becomes younger-looking in vase painting as we pass from the sixth to the later fifth cen-

---

[31] *Meidias*, p. 72.

[32] Simon, 'Neue Deutung', p. 77, argues that the figure with a club is Iasion, Demeter's lover on the thrice-ploughed field, by whom she conceived Ploutos. But the presence of the Dioscuri, the other famous initiates, suggests that the figure ought to be Heracles, and of course the club was his standard attribute. The similarity with the Heracles on the Athens hydria (Iakchos, Painting, No. 3) is striking; there too he clearly is an initiate. Iasion is not known to have figured in Eleusinian mythology. A fragment of a calyx crater (Hermitage 1889.1; Metzger, *Recherches*, pp. 7–8, pl. I.1) which features a figure labeled ΙΑΣΣΟΣ does not provide secure evidence, for the oriental costume and "Phrygian cap" worn by this figure do not point to an Eleusinian setting (on the setting see now Simon, *LIMC*, Iasion, 1).

[33] Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.2–6. His invitation to Heracles and the Dioscuri is expressed here by the verb δεῖξαι, which is sometimes misconstrued to indicate that Triptolemos functioned as hierophant (e.g., Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, p. 79). The verb, however, must be causative: "he is said to have caused the Mysteries to be shown ...."; i.e. by extending them an invitation he *in effect* showed them the Mysteries.

[34] Simon, *Festivals*, p. 28. Hierophant: Bianchi, no. 34; Metzger, *Recherches*, p. 28, no. 65.

tury;[35] this process of "juvenescence," as we may call it, happens to other gods as well. The fact that Iakchos here looks like Dionysus but for his attributes again calls to mind the Dionysiac spirit of the procession and the original association of the cry ἴακχε with Dionysus (reflected in poetry by the interchangeability of the name Ἴακχος with Βάκχος). At any rate, we see from this early example that Iakchos acquired his boots and special chiton later in the fifth century, which is, after all, not surprising, for the same thing happens to Eubouleus.[36]

Iakchos: Sculptural Representations

A statue of a Dionysiac-looking god with long locks, who is wrapped in a himation, was found in the precinct of the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα (*Fig. 64*).[37] The object(s) held in his hand(s) have not survived. The lack of a chiton is striking, but the himation would suggest that he is Iakchos rather than Eubouleus.[38] The finding place is not inappropriate, for, as we have seen, Iakchos leads initiates to the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα.

A similar figure stands next to Kore in a dedicatory relief at Eleusis.[39] He is not as tall as Kore, but sometimes Iakchos is in fact depicted shorter than the two Goddesses (cf. Catalog, Painting, No. 8; *Fig. 34*). In this dedicatory relief the sculptor has made the difference rather striking.

A bust that is usually interpreted as Eubouleus (Eubouleus, Catalog, Sculpture, No. 4), was found in the precinct of the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα, but the association with the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα would allow Iakchos to be an alternative interpretation.

Iakchos appears on silver and bronze Athenian coins, at various times from the second century B.C. to the second century A.D. (Catalog, Iakchos, Coins). Especially interesting is his appearance on the bronze festival issue (Catalog, Coins, No. 2), intended for use by the initiates at the time of the festival and perhaps also to serve as souvenirs. The special god of the initiates would be a natural symbol for such coins.

---

[35] On the amphora from Locri, Reggio 4001, he is bearded and very mature (Metzger, *Recherches*, pls. 1.2 and 2); in fourth-century vase painting, on the other hand, he is quite youthful-looking. On his youthfulness see above, p. 42, and Appendix 1.

[36] Triptolemos' boots, too, are a late acquisition. They occur in a fourth-century relief (Bianchi no. 26; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, R 9, fig. 32), the relief hydria from Cumae (*Fig. 17*), and in the Lakrateides relief (*Fig. 5*). On Eubouleus' boots see below, pp. 71–72.

[37] D. Philios, *ArchEph* 1886, cols. 259–260.

[38] W. Geomini, 'Eleusinische Priester', in *Festschrift für Nikolaus Himmelmann* (Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher, 47), Mainz 1989, pp. 253–264, argues that this is a priest, i.e. a daduch. However, the long locks and bare-chestedness are, to my knowledge, unparalleled for an Athenian (let alone an Eleusinian) priest. His youthfulness is also inappropriate to a daduch; on the age of the daduch see *Sacred Officials*, p. 67. Geomini admits that the evidence from the Roman period shows that daduchs were of mature age, but argues that this was not necessarily the case earlier, when a daduch, he thinks, would be succeeded by a person who was younger, and the priesthood was not necessarily held for life. This is not the place to review the evidence. Suffice it to say that the prosopographical evidence for the pre-Roman period is certainly consistent with the notion of a lifetime priesthood and a mininum age of *ca.* forty years upon investiture; the opposite view is merely a possibility. A couple of specific points: 1) It seems unlikely that Sophocles (III) son of Xenocles of Acharnae (daduch no. 13) was a child Pythaist in 106/5, as *FdD* III, 2, no. 15, col. III, line 17 might suggest. If this is a list of only child Pythaists, then there were 100–103 child Pythaists in 106/5, according to S.V. Tracy's calculations (*BCH* 99, 1975, pp. 201–205, 217). However, this would be more than *twice* the number of child Pythaists in any of the other three years for which there is evidence; it seems likely therefore that this list included other types of Pythaist as well. Furthermore, if Sophocles was a child in 106/5, then he was almost the same age as his wife, who was a παρθένος in 103 (*IG* II² 1034, line 25); this is a substantial violation of standard practice and is therefore quite unlikely. 2) In the first century B.C. surely Themistocles (daduch no. 14) was succeeded, on his death, by his son, Theophrastos (daduch no. 15). Geomini's proposal that Themistocles laid down his priesthood before he married makes no sense, for Pausanias (1.37.1) tells us that the son Theophrastos served after his father Themistocles, and we know from other evidence (*Sacred Officials*, pp. 51–52) that no other daduch intervened between the father and the son.

[39] Peschlow-Bindokat, p. 154, R 56, fig. 45 (p. 121).

Iakchos: Conclusion

It is interesting that Iakchos and Eubouleus have such similar attributes, so that when they appear in the same scene they are distinguished, essentially, only by a himation. The important element of course is the torch (or torches). It is carried by Iakchos to light the way for the initiates; by Eubouleus, as we shall see, for a similar purpose but not for the initiates.

II. Eubouleus in the Fifth Century

As we have seen, the fourth-century images that show Eubouleus together with Demeter and Kore and Ploutos vividly confirm his central importance in the Eleusinian cult.[40] But it is also possible to identify this god in fifth-century scenes. On a stamnos in Florence (*Fig. 36*; Catalog, Eubouleus, Painting, No. 10) by Polygnotos (i.e. third quarter of the century), the departure of Triptolemos appears on Side A; on Side B a male figure, barefoot, in a short chiton, a *tainia* in his hair, stands between Hades and Persephone, or in Eleusinian terms the God and Goddess. He holds torches, as Eubouleus does in fourth century scenes, and looks toward the Thea. The scene is extremely interesting. The fourth-century scenes mainly show Eubouleus in the upper world with Demeter and Kore, but here he must be in the Underworld. We may provisionally suggest, then, that in Eleusinian myth it is he who accompanies Kore back from this region. So on the Sofia vase (*Figs. 26–28*; Catalog, Eubouleus, Painting, No. 3), where Kore is sitting in Demeter's lap, he is present at the reunion of Mother and Daughter. (Hermes here perhaps represents an admixture from the mythic tradition surrounding the Thesmophoria,[41] but in any case he was useful artistically, as symbol of the journey from the Underworld.)

On the outside of a kylix in Munich (the "Hera-Schale") by the Sabouroff Painter (Catalog, Eubouleus, Painting, No. 12) there are two Eleusinian scenes; again one (Side A) shows the departure of Triptolemos, the other (Side B; *Fig. 37*) a torchbearer with a torch in each hand, flanked by two figures on either side. The torchbearer, bearded and clad in a short-sleeved chiton and chlamydion, with a *tainia* around his head, looks toward a regal, bearded figure on the right, who holds a scepter in his right hand. To the left of the torchbearer a woman, whose regality seems to match that of the figure on the right, holds out her hands in front of her, apparently in a gesture of surprise. On either side of the scene stands a woman holding a sprig, probably with a flower. The woman on the far left holds up her right hand, apparently in surprise. There is absolutely no indication that any of the figures flanking the torchbearer is an initiate; so it seems impossible to interpret this as an initiation scene. The regal figures are most probably Thea and Theos (Persephone and Hades), and the torchbearer Eubouleus, who has arrived to lead Kore back. The triad—the God, the Goddess, and Eubouleus—is the very one served by Lakrateides: priest of the God, the Goddess, and Eubouleus.[42] Both scenes on the outside of the cup—Triptolemos on the one side, Eubouleus on the other—therefore depict a moment just before a departure.

The long chiton and chlamydion here are a different sort of costume from that worn by the later examples of Eubouleus, viz. a short chiton and nothing over it. Another vase attributed to the same painter, a kylix now in the collection of C. Leventis (*Figs. 38–41*; Catalog, Eubouleus, Painting, No. 13), shows Eubouleus with a *tainia* around his head and a slightly different dress—a long chiton and himation. Here he stands with his torches between Theos (poorly preserved, with a scepter) on the right and Thea on the left, who proffers a phiale; here too the departure of Triptolemos appears on the opposite side of the cup (*Fig. 38*).[43] The difference between the earlier and later types of costume

---

[40] Above, pp. 56–58.

[41] Hermes may play a similar role on the Sanford-Graham pelike, Catalog, Eubouleus, Painting, No. 2, *Fig. 25*.

[42] Above, p. 52.

[43] A seated Apollo playing the lyre appears in the tondo, a phiale in his right hand. I wish to thank Margaret Miller for the reference to this vase.

recalls the early figure of Iakchos on the Brussels skyphos, also of the second quarter of the century, where Iakchos too has a long chiton. From all this we may infer that down to around the middle of the century the dress of Eubouleus and Iakchos was not as fixed as it came to be later, starting in the third or fouth quarter of the century.

What distinguishes the figures in these early Classical images is their companions: initiates for Iakchos, the Theos and Thea for Eubouleus.

On a volute crater in Ferrara (*Fig. 42*; Catalog, Eubouleus, Painting, No. 11), which shows Persephone rising from the earth amidst dancing satyrs with hammers, there is a figure very similar to the one on the Florence stamnos. Dressed in a sleeveless chiton (with perhaps a chitoniskos on top of it) he stands behind Kore and holds a torch in either hand; on his head he has a stylized wreath, perhaps intended to be myrtle. This sort of scene, probably drawn from a satyr play, recurs on other vases (inscriptions name the goddess variously as Pandora, Aphrodite, or Persephone).[44] The specific context here is not the Mysteries, but the rising goddess looks very much like Persephone (i.e. the Thea) in Eleusinian scenes,[45] and the torch-bearing figure, as companion to Persephone on her Return, seems also to be drawn from the sphere of the Mysteries and ought to be Eubouleus. If this is correct, his garment, not too different from that of the two previous examples, adds to the impression that it had not yet been standardized by the mid fifth century.

A male figure holding a torch in each hand (*Fig. 49*) appears on one side of a three-sided skyphos from Tanagra, with Demeter on the second side and Kore on the third (*Fig. 50*). The male torchbearer wears boots and a gaily decorated, sleeved tunic which reaches to his knees. In his hair he has a band (*tainia*), rather like the one on the Eubouleus on the stamnos in Florence (*Fig. 36*; Catalog, Painting, No. 10). He looks to the left, toward the woman on Side B, viz. Kore, who looks toward him. Given the absence of initiates and the interaction with Kore, the figure is probably Eubouleus.

Eubouleus in the Cult Myth: Conclusions

The episode of Eubouleus and the Return of Kore does not appear in our literary sources, and so has eluded modern scholars. There is, apparently, an echo of it in an *Orphic Hymn*, which relates that Demeter went down to Hades in search of her daughter and took with her Euboulos as a guide.[46]

Eubouleus' deed may be one of the benefactions (εὐεργεσίαι) to which Isocrates referred as known only to the initiates, i.e. the benefactions which the "ancestors" of the Athenians performed for Demeter, and which influenced her to give them the double gift of grain and the Mysteries.[47] If so, Isocrates may have been piously exaggerating the category of what could be known "only to the initiates."[48]

It is tempting to see, with Kerényi, in the "Young Abductor" of the Locrian Pinakes a Locrian version of this god.[49] This "Young Abductor," who is clearly not Hades, carries off Persephone; in some scenes she appears startled, but in others cooperative.[50] In one fragmentary scene Hades watches while the "Young Abductor" (wearing a myrtle wreath)

---

[44] See the bibliography in the catalog entry below, p. 135, Eubouleus, Painting, No. 11, especially the judicious remarks on this vase by Peschlow-Bindokat, V 98, pp. 96–97. E. Simon, 'Hermeneutisches zur Anodos von Göttinnen', in *Festschrift für Nikolaus Himmelmann* (above, n. 38), pp. 197–203, confirmed, with the help of new fragments of a red-figure stamnos in the Louvre (C 10754; Beazley, *ARV*², p. 228, no. 32), that the context of these scenes is the satyr play.

[45] Peschlow-Bindokat (above, n. 44).

[46] *Hymn* 41.5–8. Line 8, which makes Demeter the mother of Euboulos, is rather bizarre.

[47] Isoc., *Paneg.* 28., quoted above, p. 14.

[48] On the question of what could be known, see below, pp. 90–91.

[49] Kerényi, *Eleusis*, p. 173.

[50] For a full discussion see C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *BICS* 20, 1973, pp. 12–21. The reliefs: P. Zancani Montuoro, *RendNapoli* 29, 1954, pp. 79–86, pls. 8–9; H. Prückner, *Die lokrischen Tonreliefs*, Mainz 1968, pp. 70–74, pls. 13–19; Kerényi, *Eleusis*, p. 173, fig. 56.

carries a startled Persephone to a wagon.[51] Mythically this would correspond best to Eubouleus' bringing Persephone back from Hades, and one cannot help but recall the underworld triad on the gold leaves from Thurii: χθονίων βασίλεια, Εὐκλῆς, Εὐβουλεύς.[52] Persephone's shock at the prospect of a return is not totally surprising: in some versions of the myth, which may not have been of relevance to Eleusinian initiates but must at least have been widely known, she was content to stay in the Underworld.[53] But iconographically the Locrian Pinakes certainly represent a different tradition from the Eleusinian scenes—the "Young Abductor" has, e.g., no torches—and so an identification must remain quite hypothetical. Another difficulty is that in some scenes, when Persephone is carried off, the kalathos is lying on the ground next to the wagon, or she is holding it, yet the kalathos is associated with her picking flowers at her original rape.

* * *

The torches of Eubouleus serve to light the way from the Underworld, whereas the torches of Iakchos guide the initiates to Demeter on the Mirthless Rock. Both gods direct a movement towards a desirable destination, Iakchos in bringing the initiates to Eleusis, Eubouleus in bringing Kore home to her mother (in effect, to the initiates)—two movements toward the same destination, Eleusis. Each god with his torch(s) is a guide in a transition, from the lower to the upper world, from the world of the profane to the sanctuary that offered "sweeter hopes."

It is interesting, too, that the journey of both these gods is marked by images of death. This is less obvious, perhaps, in the journey of Iakchos. As the initiates walked along the Sacred Way to Eleusis with Iakchos leading, they moved along a road lined with tombs and cemeteries more extensive than we have been accustomed to imagine. The excavations of the Third Ephoreia in this area, as described in an important article by T. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou, have shown us more clearly than ever before what it was like to walk along the Sacred Way.[54] For long stretches the marchers were surrounded by the names and images of the dead.

III. The Ninnion Tablet

With Iakchos identified let us look again at the Ninnion Tablet (*Frontispiece*). In the lower field Iakchos and two initiates (the woman apparently about to break into a dance) arrive in Eleusis and walk towards Demeter. She holds out to them a phiale; her scepter rests between her left arm and shoulder. There is another seat to her left. It is empty, and is sometimes understood to refer to the absent Kore,[55] but in any case Kore is now, at the beginning of the Mysteries, still in the Underworld.[56] Just above Demeter, in the upper field, a very similar goddess is sitting on a throne, but she wears a slightly more elaborate dress. She too has a scepter, but holds it high, clasped in her left hand. She extends her right hand behind the back of a woman who approaches with two torches. Since Kore usually carries torches in Eleusinian scenes, the approaching woman ought to be she, now rejoining her mother, who extends her right arm to embrace her.[57]

---

[51] Prückner (above, n. 50), *Typ* 83, p. 72; Zancani Montuoro (above, n. 50), pl. 88 = Sourvinou-Inwood (above, n. 50), pl. IIa = Kerényi, *Eleusis*, p. 173, fig. 56.

[52] Texts A 1–3 in Zuntz, pp. 300–305.

[53] Cf. G. Harrison & D. Obbink, 'Vergil, Georgics I 36–39 and the Barcelona Alcestis (P.Barc. Inv. No. 158–161) 62–65: Demeter in the Underworld', *ZPE* 63, 1986, pp. 75–81.

[54] 'Δημόσια ἔργα καὶ ἀνασκαφὲς στὴν Ἀθήνα τὰ τελευταῖα πέντε χρόνια', *Horos* 6, 1988, pp. 87–108.

[55] It is discussed further below, p. 75, n. 68.

[56] If she were present she ought to be shown not sitting but standing next to Demeter—her typical position in Eleusinian scenes.

[57] Demeter's skin is white in the lower register, red in the upper—an unusual touch. The artist is evidently indicating a change in emotional state, which is also signalled by her dress, on which see below, pp. 80–81.

This is essentially Nilsson's interpretation,[58] but now that Frank Brommer has identified the vessel carried by the woman initiate as the *plemochoe*, Nilsson's interpretation can perhaps be made more precise.[59] Kore looks back at the three initiates following her. None of them carries a sack, sign of their recent journey, for now we are near the end of the festival.[60] The overall interpretation of the scenes then becomes relatively clear: the lower plane represents the first day of the Mysteries at Eleusis, the upper plane the last, after Kore has returned. This is reinforced by the central initiate in the upper scene; he carries a jug, obviously for libation. The last day of the Mysteries at Eleusis was called *Plemochoai*, the day on which two *plemochoai* were filled, and the liquid poured out in front of the Telesterion.[61] The female initiate is carrying a *plemochoe* on her head; the man with the jug seems to have something to do with the *plemochoe*; for he has lifted his jug near it. The two scenes therefore seem to illustrate the beginning and end of the Mysteries at Eleusis, the Procession of Iakchos and *Plemochoai*. The upper register does not show us the actual pouring of the *Plemochoe* but only an allusion to it.

The woman with the *plemochoe* on her head, who leads the group of initiates in each field is almost certainly Ninnion herself. Why else would a woman appear in the leading position among the initiates in *both* fields? Note that in each field she is making precisely the same gesture of greeting with her right hand. If one (or more) women each year were designated to minister the *plemochoai* (according to Athenaeus only two *plemochoai* were poured),[62] the purpose of *this* dedication, then, would be to commemorate the *Plemochoe* of Ninnion.[63]

This seems to be the intent also of the scene in the pediment of the Tablet. A female figure, surely Ninnion, stands in the center, beneath the apex of the pediment, the *plemochoe* on her head; the prominence thereby given to Ninnion seems to set the theme for the entire complex of scenes. Two male initiates approach on her left, the closer one holding a jug, a sack evidently hanging from his left shoulder;[64] Ninnion (perhaps making the bridal gesture with her left hand) looks to her right at a somewhat damaged female figure, who is raising her arm; to their right a male figure recedes, holding a walking stick and perhaps a jug. This seems to be a ritual moment focusing on Ninnion;[65] the sack and walking stick suggest a moment just after their arrival in Eleusis, before they enter the sanctuary; but a moment close to departure from Eleusis, one closely linked to the pouring of the *plemochoe* is also conceivable.

It is interesting that in the main scene the

---

[58] 'Gottheiten', pp. 560–561. The most important recent discussions: Metzger, *Recherches*, pp. 31–32, with bibliography; Peschlow-Bindokat, pp. 105–107. Simon, 'Neue Deutung', refuses to see two registers in the main scene; she takes the male figure with torches to be Eumolpos, *Ahnherr* of the hierophant, and the whole scene to be the festival of the Haloa. This is extremely unlikely. Her identification of Eumolpos rests on a misunderstanding; see above, p. 64, below, p. 75. In addition, the cult objects depicted below, mystic staffs and Sacred Lithos, belong to the Mysteries, as does the Plemochoe; on the Lithos, see Appendix 6. The ground line clearly separates the two processions, and the paths of the two processions are distinct. The woman in the lower procession stands on a slightly higher level than the other two marchers, which serves to call attention to her, for she most likely is Ninnion herself (see below). On the question of the two registers see especially Peschlow-Bindokat, ibid., who makes the important observation that the pair—Kore standing, Demeter seated—is typical of fourth-century Eleusinian scenes representing the Two Goddesses.

[59] F. Brommer, 'Plemochoe', *AA*, 1980, pp. 544–549.

[60] The sacks perhaps contained the piglet with which initiates arrived; see Clinton, 'Sacrifice', pp. 77–79.

[61] Cf. Brommer (above, n. 59); Clinton, 'Sacrifice', p. 78.

[62] 11.93.

[63] For the spelling of her name, see above, n. 26.

[64] That it is a sack rather than a billowing himation seems to be indicated by two oblique parallel lines crossing his chest which probably represent the staff from which the sack is hanging.

[65] Ninnion is depicted as if she is on a height or a pedestal; she is approached by male figures from below on our right (of the rightmost ascending figure only the head is visible) who depart on the left. All the figures are wearing myrtle crowns.

levels of the two processions correspond to the actual levels on which these two cult events took place: the *plemochoai* were poured out on the last day in front of the Telesterion, indicated here by the column capital;[66] but the reception of Iakchos took place on the lower level, in front of the sanctuary, which is indicated here by the position of Demeter, who sits not on a throne but low down on the hillside itself, no doubt on the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα, located in fact near the entrance to the sanctuary.[67] In this moment of sorrow she shuns the gaily decorated seat nearby.[68]

IV. Eumolpos

We turn now to a figure who is sometimes confused with Iakchos. Eumolpos, the mythical ancestor of the Eumolpidae, was the first hierophant.[69] He was worshipped by the Eumolpidae, as we might expect.[70] But there is no evidence that he was worshipped in the Mysteries: there is no priest of Eumolpos, no sacrifices, no dedications. For the Mysteries he seems to constitute only a mythical figure, the Founder, and this is reflected in the representations. He was, as his name implies, a singer, and every hierophant was required to be skilled in this art.[71] Inscriptions tell us that the very best hierophants could approach the skill of Eumolpos: τελετὰς ἀνέφηνε καὶ ὄργια πάννυχα μύσταις, Εὐμόλπου προχέων ἱμερόεσσαν ὄπα[72]

A skyphos by Makron in London (*Figs. 51–54*; Catalog, Painting, No. 1) gives us, by the grace of an inscription, a certain representation of Eumolpos (*Fig. 51*). He is seated, and holds a scepter in his left hand; next to him, symbolic no doubt of his "fair song" in the Mysteries, stands a swan. He wears a himation over a chiton. That the scepter is his standard attribute receives corroboration in a relief (*Fig. 55*; Catalog, Sculpture, No. 1) set up by a hierophant of the second-century after Christ (to the Θεσμοφόροισι Θεαῖς). Here the hierophant holds a scepter in his right hand, a bunch of grain stalks in his left; he wears a himation over a long tunic and has elaborately decorated boots. Eumolpos, first hierophant and ancestor of the Eumolpidae, the γένος from which the hierophants were appointed,[73] should of course have an iconography similar to that of the hierophant.

The seated male holding a scepter on the lekanis cover in Tübingen (*Fig. 30*; Catalog, Painting, No. 2) is therefore most likely Eumolpos, sitting on his hierophantic throne.[74]

The same may be said for the youthful man with a scepter on the hydriai in Athens (*Figs. 56–57*; Catalog, Painting, No. 3) and Lyon (*Figs. 58–59*; Catalog, Painting, No. 4). The two scenes are very similar, the position of the male figure in each case identical in relation to Demeter, Kore, and Dionysus (the length of Eumolpos' chiton and presence of the himation are apparently not significant). The youthful-looking male on the hydria in the Abbeg-Stiftung (*Figs. 22–23*; Catalog, Painting, No. 5) is more difficult to interpret, as his left hand is hidden behind Dionysus' back. We shall return to this scene below.[75]

The god clasping Athena's hand on a decree

---

[66] See above, n. 62. The fact that the Ionic order does not occur in the actual Telesterion is surely of no significance; the artist was merely indicating the existence of a sacred building.

[67] See above, pp. 14–27.

[68] The Pourtalès crater (*Fig. 24*) apparently has a similar seat, though undecorated. Thus the representation here does not seem to be careless, as Peschlow-Bindokat, p. 107, suggested (following Pringsheim). An anonymous reader has reminded me of Demeter's rejection of the seat offered by Metaneira in the *Homeric Hymn*, 191–194. These red-figure scenes do not specifically recall the scene in the *Hymn* but do represent a similar sort of procedure: in sorrow one takes a humble seat.

[69] The references are conveniently assembled by Graf, *Eleusis*, p. 18, n. 68.

[70] Sokolowski, *LSS* 10, line 65.

[71] In addition to his other qualifications; cf. Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, p. 45.

[72] *IG* II² 3639, lines 3–4.

[73] Cf. *Sacred Officials*, p. 10.

[74] Schwarz wanted to identify him as Triptolemos or Eubouleus; see above, p. 42, n. 30. Hierophantic throne: Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, pp. 20, 44, 47.

[75] Pp. 83–84.

relief at Eleusis, the so-called Bridge Relief (*Fig. 60*; Catalog, Sculpture, No. 2), has been problematic. Sometimes he has been taken to be the personification of Eleusis, but the decree concerns the Athenian Polis and the festival of the Mysteries, not the deme of Eleusis. The festival was not administered by the deme, and so should not be represented by the personification of the deme, who is, in any case, always a goddess in Attic art.[76] The god ought to represent the Mysteries, the festival which benefitted from this decree; hence the most likely candidate would be Eumolpos, the Founder, representative of the cult. The god wears a himation draped about him so as to leave his right shoulder bare. His lowered right hand barely touches Athena's right hand, also lowered. His left hand, somewhat damaged, is raised in front of Athena's right shoulder. In her left hand, raised high above her shoulders, she must have held her spear, painted on the background. Similarly Eumolpos would have held a painted scepter in his left hand. The position of his fingers, though barely discernible, is not inconsistent with grasping a scepter. The god therefore is most likely Eumolpos.

On a neck amphora by the Niobid Painter (*Fig. 61*; Catalog, Painting, No. 12), Demeter is handing stalks of wheat to a beardless male who wears a wreath (presumably of myrtle) and holds a scepter. The scepter and the wheat suggest importance in the cult and remind us of the hierophant in the Olympieion relief (*Fig. 55*). The figure therefore seems to be Eumolpos. The handing over of the grain has been taken by some scholars as a sign of Triptolemos.[77] However, as we saw earlier,[78] it would be imprudent to conclude, in the context of a cult that celebrates the goddesses' gift of grain to all who are dear to them, that no one but Triptolemos can be seen receiving grain from Demeter. The hierophant in the Olympieion relief (*Fig. 55*), in fact, holds this gift of hers in his hand. (The spearbearer reaching for her ears of wheat on a Polygnotan amphora [*Fig. 65*] can hardly be Triptolemos but may be Theseus.[79]) Demeter first showed the Mysteries to Eumolpos;[80] and as the Mysteries involved at a climactic moment the display of grain stalks,[81] it would be no surprise to learn that it was believed that Demeter gave the grain to Eumolpos. A hierophant of course would not be as barechested as the figure on the amphora, but Eumolpos was more than a hierophant, and he is in fact draped like this on the Bridge Relief.[82]

Eumolpos: Other Identifications, Possible or Unlikely.

That the bearded male on a stamnos in the Louvre (Catalog, Painting, No. 15) is Eumolpos seems unlikely. He holds a scepter and a phiale and stands between the twin altars of Eleusis, the one on the left being tended to by Kore, the one on the right by Demeter. Since the hierophant's primary function was not sacrifice (this was the task of the Ἱερεὺς ἐπὶ βωμῷ),[83] the god in this scene ought to be someone other than Eumolpos. Plouton seems more likely; sacrifice is made to him in connection with the Mysteries, and he not infrequently appears with Demeter and Kore.[84]

---

[76] The relation of the deme to the festival: Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, p. 8; *AJP* 100, 1979, pp. 1–9. The goddess Eleusis: *LIMC*, Eleusis; above, p. 50, below, p. 106, and *Fig. 45*, p. 124 and *Fig. 51*.

[77] Including Schwarz; see above, p. 42.

[78] Above, p. 44.

[79] Above, p. 43.

[80] *Marm. Par.*, *FGrHist* 239 ep. 15; cf. Graf, *Eleusis*, p. 18, n. 68.

[81] See below, pp. 93–94.

[82] The scene on the other side of the amphora should not be left out of consideration; there Apollo too is draped in a similar way. A tendency to parallelism is at work and may have affected the dress of the two male figures as well. Between Artemis and Apollo stands their familiar palm tree; it rises in the center of the scene, and corresponds to the position of the grain in the Eleusinian scene. The figures are given similar poses. Both males are more or less beardless, and both are more or less barechested.

[83] On this priest see Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, pp. 82–86.

[84] The sacrifice: *IG* I³ 5 with Clinton, '*IG* I³ 5, the Eleusinia, and the Eleusinians', *AJP* 100, 1979, pp. 1–12. On the scene cf. below, Appendix 3, Part I, No. 26.

L. Weidauer wishes to see Eumolpos in the warrior accompanying Poseidon on Side A of the Policoro pelike (Catalog, Painting, No. 17). Poseidon has an inscription above his head, but the warrior is nameless. On side B Athena rushes toward them in her chariot, which is driven by a female companion; ahead of their team the olive tree springs from the earth; and above and in front of the team, Zeus' lightning bolt appears.[85] This is the famous contest of Poseidon and Athena over the land of Attica. The scene is repeated on a pelike found at Pella, again with the olive tree and lightning bolt.[86] But in this myth Eumolpos, so far as we know, played no role. Therefore Poseidon's warrior companion must remain nameless. Weidauer wrongly takes the scene as part of the war of Eumolpos and the Eleusinians against Erechtheus.[87] The olive tree and lightning bolt clearly show this to be incorrect. In the war against Erechtheus we should not expect a scene with Poseidon and Eumolpos fighting Athena but rather Eumolpos fighting Erechtheus or, after Eumolpos' death, Poseidon killing Erechtheus.

We possess therefore no secure example of Eumolpos as warrior. A kylix in Frankfurt (Catalog, Painting, No. 18) shows a warrior in an Eleusinian setting, along with Triptolemos in his winged wagon and several other figures, some of whom are difficult to interpret. The precise reference of the scene escapes us.[88] The figure at the far right sitting on a throne, a scepter in his right hand, libation bowl in his left, is usually taken to be Keleos, but the architectural setting hints at the Telesterion or sanctuary, so that perhaps we should not rule out Eumolpos on his hierophantic throne.[89]

Unfortunately the scepter is such a common attribute of other Eleusinian figures, such as Keleos and Hippothoon,[90] that its presence in an Eleusinian scene does not guaranteee that the bearer is Eumolpos. And since we cannot discuss every scepter-bearing figure in Eleusinian scenes, the following scenes represent only a selection and do not exhaust the possible candidates for Eumolpos in Attic vase painting.

In the scenes discussed above which probably represent Eumolpos (Paintings Nos. 1–5) we see that he stands in a fairly intimate relation to Demeter and Kore. Using this as a guide we can examine other Eleusinian scenes which show a sceptered figure in a similar position. On the London skyphos by Makron (*Figs. 51, 54*; Catalog, Painting, No. 1) the eponymous goddess Eleusis stands between Eumolpos and the scene in which Triptolemos is being tended to by Demeter and Kore. A similar arrangement may confront us in a scene on a volute crater in Paris (Catalog, Painting, No. 8). At the far right a bearded male with a scepter stands behind a woman raising her veil in the "bridal gesture"; both look toward Demeter, Kore, and Triptolemos. The woman with her veil is reminiscent of Eleusis lifting the hem of her chiton on the London skyphos. So the bearded figure may be Eumolpos. (The figure at the far left on the calyx crater in Ferrara [Catalog, Painting, No. 9] seems to correspond to the figure at the far left on the volute crater [No. 8], who seems less likely to be Eumolpos than the figure at the far right.) If in the scene on a Munich kylix (Catalog, Painting, No. 10) we take the woman to the left of Triptolemos as Eleusis, then the bearded man to the left of her, with libation bowl and scepter, may be Eumolpos. On a Louvre stamnos (Catalog, Painting, No. 11) a bearded male with scepter stands on the left be-

---

[85] On the lightning see, most recently, Weidauer, 'Eumolpos und Athen', p. 204, following E. Simon.

[86] *Greece and the Sea*, ed. A. Delivorrias, Athens 1987, pp. 202, 203–206, no. 104, with two color plates.

[87] 'Poseidon and Eumolpos', pp. 92–93. This erroneous position has now been adopted by B.S. Spaeth, 'Athenians and Eleusinians in the West Pediment of the Parthenon', *Hesperia* 60, 1991, pp. 331–362, esp. 342–343. This article appeared when my manuscript was in press, and cannot be criticized here in detail.

[88] Cf. below, Appendix 5, p. 119, n. 15.

[89] The throne: above, n. 74.

[90] Cf. the bell crater by the Oreithyia Painter, Palermo V779 (= Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 61; *ARV*² p. 496, 5); the footed dinos in the Getty Museum, below, p. 106, *Figs. 43–46*; U. Kron, *LIMC*, Hippothoon.

hind a woman with a torch; both look toward Triptolemos, Demeter, and Kore. The woman may well be Eleusis and the man behind her Eumolpos, as on the London skyphos (No. 1). They are intimately caught up in the scene around Triptolemos. Much less clear is the interpretation of the sceptered figures on a volute crater by the Altamura Painter (Catalog, Painting, No. 13) and a pelike by the Argos Painter (Catalog, Painting, No. 14).

Also unclear is the standing figure with scepter on the Perugia crater (Catalog, Painting, No. 16). Schwarz takes him to be Eumolpos and the corresponding figure on the far right (naturally enough) as Hermes, the two of them representing the progenitors of the Eumolpidae and Kerykes. However, if the two gods do correspond in this way, they ought to be Eumolpos and Keryx (Pausanias 1.38.3) or their fathers, Poseidon and Hermes. Given the clear presence of Hermes, the latter possibility deserves consideration.

Eumolpos: Conclusion

It is interesting that in art the figure of Keryx, the ancestor of the Kerykes, is nowhere clearly attested. This tends to confirm the lesser importance that Keryx had in Athenian eyes. In artistic scenes Eumolpos was evidently sufficient to serve as symbol of the *cult* of the Mysteries.[91]

V. Interpretation of Eleusinian Scenes

V. A. Arrays of Gods

Several of the scenes seem to consist simply of an array of Eleusinian gods, usually with limited interaction, as on the Lakrateides Relief (*Fig. 5*) or the Lysimachides Relief (*Fig. 8*) with its smaller group. The skyphos from Tanagra (*Figs. 49–50*), with its three separated figures, shows even less interaction. But if we look at the larger arrays more closely, they reveal themselves to be more interesting and complex than they might at first appear.

REGINA VASORUM

The most extensive array appears on the Regina Vasorum in St. Petersburg (*Ill. 9*; *Figs. 17–19*), where gods are arranged symmetrically around Demeter and Kore in the center. The first symmetrical pair, just to the left and right of Demeter and Kore, are the two most famous initiates, Dionysus and Heracles (they are clearly initiates, for they correspond and Heracles carries the initiate's piglet). The next symmetrical pair are Triptolemos and Athena, he sitting in his chariot, she on a rocky outcropping no doubt meant to stand for the Acropolis. The two of them are naturally linked: Athena's city and its generosity (as Isocrates implied) were responsible for the mission of Triptolemos.[92] Next, left and right, come the pair we have identified as Iakchos and Eubouleus. Iakchos looks toward a seated, sceptered woman on the left, Eubouleus toward a similar figure on the right.

These women at the edges have proved difficult to identify; proposals have included Demeter, Rhea, Aphrodite, and other goddesses. Iakchos here is unusual in that he is not leading initiates to the sanctuary. Is he related in some way to the goddess he is looking at? She is seated on something that appears roughly carved below and round and lump-like on top.[93] The Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα comes to mind. In the lower register of the Ninnion Pinax (*Frontispiece*) Iakchos is leading initiates to Demeter who is sitting, as we saw, on the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα.[94] That the seated figure here is Demeter is further reinforced by the polos she is wearing; a polos is also worn by Demeter in the center. Since the pair on the left, Demeter and Iakchos, are shown in the context

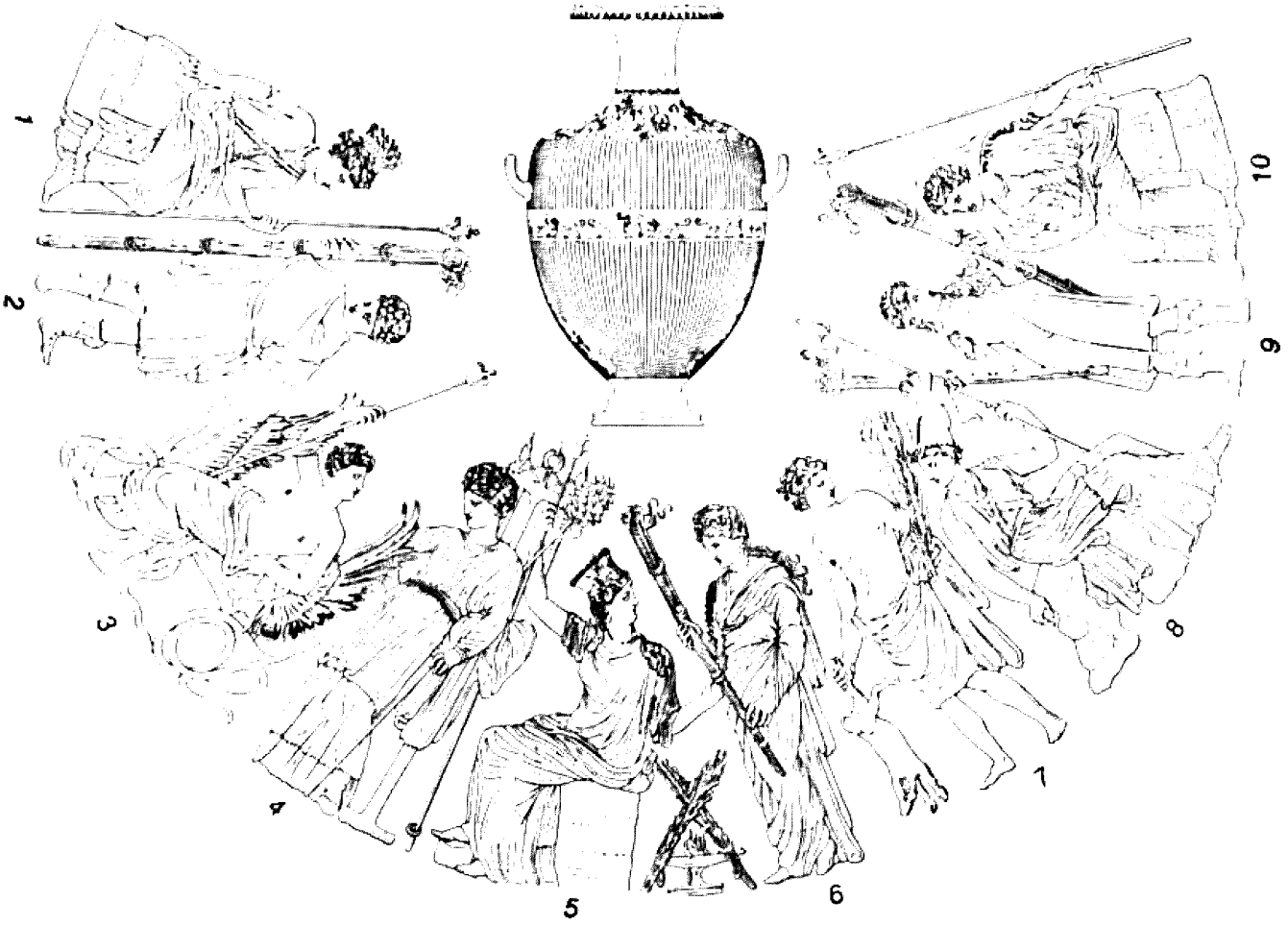
---

[91] Thus the omission of Keryx in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* seems less significant than I assumed in my article (Clinton, 'Author').

[92] Isocrates: quoted above, p. 14.

[93] L. Stephani, *CRPétersb* 1859, p. 36, describes Demeter as sitting "auf einem weissen Felsen," but adds in n. 1 that the white color, an underlayer, was not the original color seen by the viewer.

[94] Above, p. 75.



Ill. 9. Drawing, relief hydria from Cumae, St. Petersburg, Hermitage.

which they share in the cult, we should expect a similar kind of context for the pair on the far right. The seated woman on the far right gives an impression of sorrow: her chin (it seems) rests on her right hand; her face expresses grief; and her left hand dangles down behind her, barely clasping her scepter. She sits on what may be a throne, the back of which perhaps can be made out (rising above and to the right of her head), or it may be a rock.[95] The goddess who is most closely associated with Eubouleus in the cult myth is, as we have seen, Kore (after her return) or Thea (before her return). That she is Thea, shown grieving on her Underworld seat because of her separation from her mother, is corroborated by her regality and by the fact that in this scene she wears (so far as I can tell) nothing on her head, just like Kore in the central scene. The separation of Thea from her mother is expressed literally in this composition by her placement at the extreme edge of the scene, diametrically opposite her mother who sits on the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα.

The structure and the meaning of the whole composition now become clear. We mentioned earlier the symmetrical pairs around Demeter and Kore. The members of each pair relate to each other in some significant way: Dionysus and Heracles as fellow initiates; Triptolemos and Athena as symbols of the generosity of

[95] Perhaps what I take to be the back of the throne is part of the goddess's himation. L. Stephani, *CRPétersb* 1859, p. 38, describes her as sitting "auf einem braunen Felsen" (O. Waldauer, *Regina Vasorum*, Leningrad 1933, p. 32, also calls it a "Felsen"); but Metzger, *Recherches*, p. 41, refers to it as "un siège à angles droits" and "un siège massif." Metzger's description seems to correspond better to the photograph, but Stephani and Waldauer had the advantage of autopsy.

Athens and its invitation to the Mysteries; the torchbearers Iakchos and Eubouleus, the one bringing initiates to Demeter sitting on her Mirthless Rock, the other bringing the Thea back from the Underworld to rejoin her mother. And we see now a similar relation in the outer pair, grieving mother and sorrowful daughter. If we divide the scene in half vertically between Demeter and Kore, we see the central Demeter on the same side as Demeter on the Mirthless Rock, and Kore on the same side as the Thea.

The central pair shows the reunion of mother and daughter. They look at each other with feeling. Demeter is putting her left arm around Kore's back, and she lifts her right arm high, in joy and victory, as she grasps her scepter. Kore is holding her torch with vigor. In all this, especially in the position of Demeter's hands, the scene is reminiscent of the upper register of the Ninnion Pinax. And the similarity goes further. We saw that the upper register of the Pinax alluded to the celebration of the *Plemochoai*, the final day of the Mysteries, while the lower register represented the first day at Eleusis, the arrival of Iakchos with the initiates. There is a similar allusion, cultic and mythic, in the central scene on this vase. Precisely between Demeter and Kore, on the ground, a *plemochoe* lies below two crossed mystic staffs. The reunion of Demeter and Kore, here shown in the center, is a culminating scene in the myth, while the beginning of the cult myth is shown at the edges of the scene, in the separation of the goddesses; at the same time, the cultic instruments, myrtle staffs (carried by initiates on their way to Eleusis) and *plemochoai* allude to the temporal frame of the cult, the beginning and end of the festival at Eleusis. In alluding to the temporal frame of this festival and at the same time representing the beginning and end of the cult myth the Regina Vasorum follows the same rhythm as the Ninnion Pinax.

There is another interesting touch, in the depiction of Demeter's dress. Demeter on the Mirthless Rock wears a relatively simple peplos with crossed straps, but in the reunion scene her dress is more decorated and she lacks the straps, which seem more appropriate to the dress of one who has been wandering. The Ninnion Pinax also shows Demeter in two modes, simpler when she sits on the Rock,[96] elaborate when on her throne she embraces her daughter.[97] On the whole the Ninnion Pinax is a fairly close parallel, but the composition on the Regina Vasorum has a greater range, as it alludes mythically to the underworld dimensions of the cult and its universal appeal.

This finely crafted composition is of great significance for the cult and its myth.[98] What is especially important is that it confirms the central role played by Eubouleus in the cult myth. It incidentally offers further confirmation that the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* is an unreliable guide to the myth of the Mysteries. The *Hymn* makes no mention of Eubouleus or the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα. Yet on the vase we see that they are essential elements in the cult myth.

The Regina Vasorum highlights the significance of Triptolemos and Athena as a pair. In this context Triptolemos appears as *spondophoros*, i.e. announcer of the Mysteries, and Athena as patron goddess of the host city which sent him forth, i.e. a divine symbol of Athens. The pair is used in other scenes, as we shall see, for this purpose, but sometimes this purpose is achieved through the use of only one or the other (as on the St. Petersburg pelike).

Both Athena and Triptolemos occur on a lekythos with relief figures in the Louvre.[99] To the left of the central pair, Demeter and Kore,

---

[96] Her diadem is rather dull, her necklace, if present, only faintly indicated.

[97] The diadems of Demeter and Kore are particularly bright and prominent, as is Demeter's necklace.

[98] Its precision with respect to the cult and its similarities to the Ninnion Pinax strongly suggest that the vase is Attic, despite proposals that it is South-Italian (cf. Zervoudaki, pp. 36–37). Its Attic origin has now been confirmed by A.D. Trendall, *apud* E. Simon, 'Eirene und Pax, Friedensgöttinnen in der Antike', *SBFrankfurt* 24, 1988, p. 65, n. 28: "nach Stil und Inhalt rein attisch."

[99] Metzger, *Recherches*, pp. 36–37, no. 16, pl. 15; Kerènyi, *Eleusis*, p. 168, fig. 54 (photograph and drawing).

stands Dionysus. Framing them are Athena on the left and a hovering Triptolemos on the right. (On the far right, leaning against a rocky hillside, is another initiate, unfortunately poorly preserved, but judging by other scenes in which initiates are presented, he is most likely Heracles.) Here Athena and Triptolemos serve the same sort of function as they do on the Regina Vasorum.

The composition of the Regina Vasorum confirms Mylonas' view that Dionysus and Heracles here are represented as initiates.[100] It is noteworthy that Dionysus, who forms a symmetrical pair with Heracles, is turned not toward Demeter but toward Triptolemos, the god who issued the invitation to the Mysteries.[101]

We may wonder why Heracles and Dionysus (as opposed to other gods) became initiates. It may well have to do with the fact that they both had important sanctuaries on the hill of Eleusis, which was called the Akris: they in effect shared the Akris with Demeter and Kore. Heracles' sanctuary included at least part of the ancient quarry on the north side of the hill.[102] Although the sanctuary of Dionysus at Eleusis has not yet been located, inscriptions leave no doubt that it was a major one.[103] In scenes of initiation Dionysus appears only rarely with a himation, the dress of ordinary initiates—an exemption probably due to his status as Olympian god.

ST. PETERSBURG PELIKE

The two seated goddesses on the Regina Vasorum, Thea in the Underworld and Demeter on the Mirthless Rock, appear again on the St. Petersburg pelike (*Figs. 20–21*); this time Demeter is on the right, Thea on the left. The composition is not so finely structured as that of the Regina Vasorum, and only an initiate or someone familiar with the iconographic tradition would understand it. Demeter sits pensively on a roundish object, a stylized Mirthless Rock, evidently covered by a painted cloth (*Fig. 21*), with her chin almost resting on her right hand. Thea's seat is not shown; details of her face are not preserved, but she wears a band or diadem in her hair which is rather like the one worn by Kore in the center, though slightly less elaborate. Just to the right of the Thea stands Eubouleus. Demeter's dress is essentially the same in both her appearances; the main difference has to do with the polos: it is present when she sits as Queen, reunited with Kore, but absent when she sits on the Mirthless Rock. The two Demeters are iconographically linked, it seems, in that their right arm is bare and decorated with a bracelet, whereas the iconographical link between Thea and Kore seems to be their diadem and the fact that they are completely wrapped in a himation.[104] Above in the center Triptolemos hovers in his wagon, and is flanked by Heracles, who stands, and by Dionysus, who reclines on the hillside. Since they accompany Triptolemos, the announcer of the Mysteries, they are there as initiates, as on the Regina Vasorum. The whole scene shows us the initiates and the framework of their experience in the Mysteries: the beginning (the grief and separation of mother and daughter) and the end (the reunion together with the manifestation of Ploutos).

Comparison of the structure of the scene with the Regina Vasorum suggests that the torchbearer next to the Thea ought to be Eubouleus, a conclusion reinforced by the absence of a himation. The omission of Iakchos may have been dictated by insufficient surface for an extended array like that on the Regina

---

[100] Διόνυσος, p. 96.

[101] On Triptolemos as announcer of the Mysteries see especially Xenophon, *Hell.* 6.3.2–6, discussed above, p. 69, n. 33.

[102] S. Koumanoudis & D. Gofas, 'Deux décrets inédits d'Eleusis', *REG* 91, 1981, pp. 289–306.

[103] J. Travlos, 'The Topography of Eleusis', pp. 138–147, fig. 1, puts it hypothetically on the S side of the hill. For its influence on vase painting and for the epigraphical evidence see Appendix 6.

[104] The change in emotional state, which we noted above, p. 73, n. 57, in connection with the Ninnion Tablet and the Regina Vasorum, seems to be indicated here for Demeter perhaps by the polos (*now* she looks like a queen) and for Kore by the fancier diadem, the colored himation, and untied hair.

Vasorum; perhaps for the same reason, the artist has omitted Athena, taking advantage of Triptolemos' ability to serve as the sole symbol of Athens' invitation to the festival, and has relegated Triptolemos and the initiates to the background. Eubouleus' intermediate position between initiates and goddesses tends to make him appear to be the initiates' leader, i.e. rather like Iakchos. Here the artist may have been influenced by scenes of the arrival of initiates, as for example on the belly amphora from Cos (*Fig. 34*; discussion below), so that he has allowed the background with the initiates to resemble such a scene, and, consciously or not, has given the torchbearer a double role: if you take him with the background, he looks like Iakchos; but if you take him with the foreground, on the model of the Regina Vasorum, he looks like Eubouleus.

* * *

Though it is risky to speculate why scholars have been unable to interpret these scenes in this fairly straightforward, unified way, a couple of factors do seem to have played a role. There has been, first, a natural tendency to interpret each figure as a separate individual, with little consideration given to the possibility of repetition. (Nilsson's view ran counter to this trend, and is not far from the one proposed here; he took the pair on the left on the Regina Vasorum to be Kore and Eubouleus, the pair on the right Iakchos and Demeter—essentially just the reverse of our interpretation.[105]) Repetition of the same figure on vases is not common but it does occur. P. Valavanis recently called attention to scenes on fourth-century Panathenaic vases in which a victor is shown twice within the same scene, indicating two different moments.[106] Earlier H. Froning, in a discussion of other black- and red-figure scenes of this type, outlined the development of this narrative style from the second half of the eighth century onward, and argued that it was fully developed by the end of the sixth.[107] The other factor working against the interpretation proposed here was undoubtedly the influence of the story in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, which caused scholars to be reluctant to depart much from the confines of this story in their interpretation of these scenes; hence desperate resort was made to Rhea, a goddess who does not occur at all in the cult of the Mysteries.

OTHER "ARRAYS."

The seated goddesses, Demeter on the Mirthless Rock and Thea on her Underworld throne, evidently appear on a **relief lekythos in Athens** (Catalog, Eubouleus, Painting, No. 9). The goddesses frame the scene as on the Regina Vasorum. Although the Mirthless Rock is not clear in the photograph, it does seem to have rounded contours above. Between them stands a goddess holding a child; to the right a Eubouleus-like figure is either taking the child or handing it to the goddess. The scene is unique, to my knowledge, and merits further study to determine whether it is indeed Eleusinian.

The **lekanis cover in Tübingen** (*Fig. 30*; Iakchos, Painting, No. 6) is mostly taken up with a display of initiates, two on either side of Athena, who symbolizes Attica as home of the Mysteries and Athens' cultural generosity. She looks affectionately at Heracles and Dionysus who are turned toward her. To the left of her are the two Dioscuri on horseback, and between the Dioscuri Iakchos. To the left of the Dioscuri and looking toward them is Eumolpos, who sits with his scepter next to Kore. Here no temporal dimensions are articulated but a general reference to the cult is given in the figure of Eumolpos, symbolizing the celebration of the rites: in the appearance of Ploutos at the reunion of Demeter and Kore we have an image of the τέλος of the cult.

---

[105] Nilsson, 'Gottheiten', p. 562, no. 4.

[106] P. Valavanis, 'La proclamation des vainqueurs aux Panathénées', *BCH* 114, 1990, pp. 325–359, esp. 345–348.

[107] 'Anfänge der kontinuierenden Bilderzählung', *JdI* 103, 1988, pp. 169–199, esp. 189–199.

The scene on the **belly amphora in Cos** (*Fig. 34*; Iakchos, Painting, No. 8) is primarily a display of initiates: the Dioscuri on the left, Heracles above, reclining on the hillside, all presented by Iakchos. Triptolemos forms the center of the scene, with Demeter and Kore on the right, next to a white hemispherical object.[108] Behind Demeter Hermes can be seen, presumably Hermes Enagonios who assisted initiates on their journey;[109] behind Kore there is apparently another initiate who cannot be seen clearly in the photograph. An Eros hovers between Heracles and Demeter, perhaps expressing Heracles' affection for Demeter and her Mysteries and Demeter's affection for her famous initiate. This scene focuses on the arrival of the initiates, with Triptolemos (now without Athena) symbolizing both the invitation and generosity of Athens.

The arrival of these initiates also forms the theme of the scene on the **Pourtalès crater** (*Fig. 24*). Here Iakchos and Eubouleus, Demeter and Kore all look to the right, toward one of the arriving Dioscuri; Heracles looks to the left, toward the other Dioscurus; and Iakchos extends his arm, evidently indicating to the initiates the goddesses whom they have journeyed to see. Triptolemos, who also played a role in their journey, makes a similar but less pronounced gesture.

The **Boston stamnos** (*Fig. 31*), though fragmentary, is probably another scene of arrival, in which an initiate, logically Heracles, is followed by Iakchos and Triptolemos. Another fragment (*Fig. 32*) shows Demeter and, to her left, Kore (apparently) emerging from the earth.[110]

V. B. Celebration of Ploutos

Several scenes celebrate Ploutos. The **Great Eleusinian Relief** (*Fig. 1*) is the simplest and most stunning example. The **fragment in the Fethiye Dzami** (*Fig. 3*) belongs to this type, while the Agora Reliefs (*Figs. 9–10*) are a variation on it. Two other scenes, on the **hydria in the Abbeg-Stiftung** (*Figs. 22–23*) and the **Sandford Graham pelike** (*Fig. 25*; Eubouleus, Painting, No. 2), are rather similar: Demeter, Kore, and Dionysus all gaze at Ploutos, who stands in their midst. On the pelike Dionysus is on the right, then Eubouleus; on the hydria he is on the left, followed by a figure in a short tunic and boots, whose left arm is hidden behind Dionysus' back. Since this figure's attribute is not represented, he is, as we noted above, either Eubouleus or Eumolpos; but in view of the similarity with the scene on the pelike, Eubouleus is the much more likely possibility. The woman on the far right on the hydria (*Fig. 23*) ought to be Demeter on the Mirthless Rock, yet here the figure opposite her on the other side is not Thea but Eubouleus; evidently he alone serves as an allusion to her stay in Hades. This scene also introduces an interesting variant. Demeter on the Mirthless Rock is no longer static but raises her arm to greet Kore on her return. On the pelike, on the other hand, the grieving Demeter does not appear; there Hermes and Eubouleus frame the scene on the left and right, both figures alluding to the Re-

[108] On this object, the Hieros Lithos, see Appendix 6.

[109] *IG* I³ 5, line 3 (= Clinton, *AJP*, 100, 1979, pp. 1–9). The law lists sacrifices, including one to [Ἰάκ]χοι, to be offered apparently when the initiates arrive at Eleusis (see Clinton, 'Sacrifice', pp. 70–71). In *AJP*, loc. cit., I argued that the ἑορτή (line 5) at which these sacrifices were performed was the Mysteries (instead of the Eleusinia, as previously believed), while granting that some of the gods mentioned, like Hermes Enagonios and Telesidromos, belonged to the sphere of the Eleusinia. After further consideration, this concession to the Eleusinia seems unjustified. Telesidromos, the god who helps one to complete the *dromos*, would be of little benefit to competitors in the races at the Eleusinia; they gain no distinction from merely *completing* the course. However, to initiates on their walk (*dromos*) to Eleusis, completing the *dromos* is their essential goal; the twenty-one kilometer journey is truly an ἀγών, and it would be natural for them to pray for the help of Hermes Enagonios. All the gods in this sacred law have a significant connection with the initiates' trip and their arrival in the forecourt of the sanctuary.

[110] Emergence from the earth is an artistic device employed elsewhere by this painter but very appropriate here, as Burn, *Meidias*, p. 72, points out.

turn as on the lekythos from Apollonia (*Figs. 26–28*).

The figure of Dionysus, so closely bound up with Demeter and Kore in these scenes, might lead one to think, with Metzger, that he is a *paredros* of the Two Goddesses.[111] But as he appears as an initiate in other scenes with Demeter, Kore, and Ploutos (the lekanis cover in Tübingen, the St. Petersburg pelike), it seems best to see him as an initiate in these two documents as well: on the pelike he watches the final stage of the Mysteries; on the hydria he views this same stage and the one just before it, as Kore returns to her mother sitting on the Mirthless Rock.

V. C. Return of Kore

Another frequent and obvious motif is the celebration of the Return of Kore. It occurs on the Ninnion Pinax and the Regina Vasorum, which show mother and daughter reunited at the end of the festival. The **lekythos from Apollonia** (*Figs. 26–28*) shows the reunion very soon after the Return, when Demeter sits on her throne with Kore on her lap, flanked by Eubouleus, her escort, and Hermes, symbol of the journey. Looking on at the right is Dionysus, his status as initiate signalled by the presence of Triptolemos. Very close in sense to this scene, but apparently slightly earlier in mythic time, is the **hydria in Athens** (*Fig. 33*). Here Kore approaches Demeter while she is still sitting on the Mirthless Rock. Heracles watches from the left as an initiate (his status is indicated by the presence of Iakchos on the right). The **St. Petersburg pelike** (*Figs. 20–21*) adds Ploutos to the Celebration of Kore. The **hydria in the Abbeg-Stiftung** (*Figs. 22–23*) is a more interesting attempt to include *both* the return of Kore *and* the celebration of Ploutos. Here Kore does, as it were, double duty, approaching Demeter on the Mirthless Rock, her torches pointed toward her, but looking back to the left at Ploutos; and Demeter sits on the left as Queen reunited with her daughter. Like the scenes on the Ninnion Pinax and the Regina Vasorum the artist creates a temporal dimension through the repetition of Demeter at different moments, but here the figure of Kore accomplishes this not through repetition but by her intermediate position between the two Demeters and her orientation and gaze: her closeness and orientation to Demeter on the Rock alludes to the moment of her Return, while her gaze, fixed as it is on Ploutos, unites her with Demeter on her queenly throne, for Ploutos belongs with the later scene. The very precise scenes on the Ninnion Pinax and the Regina Vasorum show us a progression from the Mirthless Rock to the Return of Kore, a progression in which Ploutos does not appear. The St. Petersburg pelike has virtually the same scene but adds Ploutos. The addition suggests that he belongs later in mythic time than the period that begins with Demeter sitting on the Mirthless Rock and ends with the Return of Kore.

VI. The Sacred Drama

Of the scenes which present the Return of Kore the most interesting are the Ninnion Pinax and the Regina Vasorum because they present the progression of the myth from Mirthless Rock to Reunion and, in addition, give fairly precise allusions to cult: (1) the crossed myrtle staffs in the lower center in both cases; (2) the Hieros Lithos[112] on the Ninnion Tablet and the plemochoe on the Regina Vasorum; and (3) the scenes on the Ninnion Tablet which allude to the day called *Plemochoai*. The Regina Vasorum presents only gods and goddesses, including divine initiates, but the initiates on the Ninnion Tablet are human. The similarities and differences help us fill out the picture of what mythic events the initiates experience from the moment they enter the sanctuary to the climax of the τελετή. We see only the beginning and end. As the initiates arrive with Iackhos they approach Demeter on the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα;

[111] *Représentations*, pp. 250–252. See below, Appendix 6.

[112] See Appendix 6.

at the end they experience the reunion of the Two Goddesses. It has long been known that the Mysteries entailed a drama of the wandering of Demeter in search of Kore and, finally, her return. These scenes in painting allow us to see more or less precisely which events this drama encompassed. It did not begin with the Rape of Kore. The rape had already occurred; it was a given.[113] The drama began with Mother and Daughter separated and in sorrow. (This, I suspect, has much to do with the scarcity of scenes of the Rape in Attic vase painting: only *three* examples exist.[114])

When the initiates enter the sanctuary for the secret part of the rite, they are immediately confronted, I would assume, with the suffering of the goddesses, in the form of lamentations coming from the precinct of the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα: this would be the appropriate time and place for the θρῆνοι which Proclus tells us that Demeter and Kore made in the Mysteries.[115] So the initiates shared the pain of the goddesses as they passed by the Mirthless Rock, Kore's lament perhaps sounding from the pit that led up from the underworld.[116]

This expression of sorrow and pain could have had a powerful effect on the initiates as they made their way up the path to the Anaktoron.[117] Their shared suffering for the Goddesses would become more intense as they wandered in the dark about the Anaktoron, διὰ σκότους τινὲς ὑποπτοι πορεῖαι καὶ ἀτέλεστοι, according to Plutarch (and others), and as they experienced moments of fear and even terror, φρίκη καὶ τρόμος καὶ ἱδρὼς καὶ θάμβος.[118]

Plutarch prefaces these images of fear by equating the process of initiation with dying: "Then [at the point of death] it [the soul] suffers something like what those who participate in the great initiations (τελεταί) suffer. Hence even the word "dying" (τελευτᾶν) is like the word "to be initiated" (τελεῖσθαι), and the act (of dying) is like the act (of being initiated)." In the Mysteries of Isis, surely one of the "great intiations", Apuleius refers to his experience as like a "voluntary death."[119] The Eleusinian Mysteries were of course also one of the "great initiations." So when Pindar says of the Mysteries, "Happy is he who has seen these things and goes beneath the earth: he knows the end of life; he knows its Zeus-given beginning,"[120]

---

[113] Cf. Bérard, 'Images', p. 115 (but there seems to be no necessity [pace Bérard] to assume that the Rape was recounted in the secret rites). None of the Church Fathers, to my knowledge, specifically states that the Rape took place in the sacred drama. Clement, *Protr.* 2.12, is rather vague: "Demeter and Kore became a sacred drama, καὶ πλάνην καὶ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν καὶ τὸ πένθος αὐταῖν Ἐλευσὶς δαδουχεῖ." The wandering and rape and their grief Eleusis "celebrates with torches"—a phrase that need not (and probably does not) refer specifically to the Drama. Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 23, refers only to a search for Kore carried out by the initiates. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 39.4, refers to the rape of Kore but does not say that it was enacted in the cult; he may have had only the general myth in mind.

[114] Lindner, *Raub*, pp. 12–16, nos. 4, 7, 8. I include no. 4 even though Lindner classified it not as an abduction but a "Liebesverfolgung", for the pursuit surely ended in a union. Schefold's interpretation, *Göttersage*, p. 260, figs. 370–371, of a scene on a fragment of a black-figure oinochoe in Basel as a Rape is rejected by Lindner, *Raub*, p. 119, n. 4.

[115] *In R.* 1.125.3–22 Kroll: ... κἀν τοῖς μυστηρίοις τοὺς ἱεροὺς θρήνους μυστικῶς παρειλήφαμεν (line 4).... ἐπεὶ καὶ Κόρης καὶ Δήμητρος καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς μεγίστης θεᾶς ἱερούς τινας ἐν ἀπορρήτοις θρήνους αἱ τελεταὶ παραδεδώκασιν (lines 21–22). His discussion implies that these are laments made *by* the goddesses.

[116] On the pit see below, p. 87.

[117] The Anaktoron is the building which has usually been called the Telesterion: see Appendix 7.

[118] Stobaeus 4.52.49. On the wandering also Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 23: *His etiam Cereris simile mysterium est, in quo facibus accensis per noctem Proserpina inquiritur, et ea inventa ritus omnis gratulatione ac taedarum iactatione finitur.* The description is quite specific and has a credible ring. The Search did not take place in the Telesterion but in the broad spaces surrounding it. Richardson, *Hymn*, p. 23, does not find a search by "thousands of initiates" credible; but it is very unlikely that the Mystai numbered more than a few hundred (Aristides' statements about the size of the crowd, *Panathenaicus* 257 Oliver [= 311 D], are hyperbole; cf. Isocrates' hyperbole on the Aparche, *Paneg.* 31); and the Epoptai, who probably did number in the thousands, would not take part in the Search: see below, pp. 86–89.

[119] Apuleius, *Met.* 11.21: *ad instar voluntariae mortis et precariae salutis.*

[120] Frg. 137.

"knowing the end of life" must refer, as Aristotle's decription of the Mysteries implies, not so much to intellectual knowledge, μαθεῖν τι, but to an experience, παθεῖν τι καὶ διατεθῆναι (which of course does not preclude "suffering"):[121] the experience, in fact, is a "dying," "the end of life."

This process of "dying" is reflected in the word for initiate, μύστης, "one who has been closed," closed surely with respect to his eyes, hence blinded in some way, perhaps just partially.[122] Scenes from related Demeter cults show an initiate hooded.[123] In the Mithraic Mysteries the initiate is blindfolded.[124] This loss of sight in the Mysteries fits the general description that Plutarch gives of the initiates' experience:[125] the suffering is a kind of death, experienced by an initiate who sees nothing but darkness, the darkness of Hades.[126] At the next higher stage, when the initiate comes back a year later, he or she is no longer a Mystes, "one whose eyes are shut," but an Epoptes, "one who sees."[127] So it is clear why for a Mystes a Mystagogos was absolutely essential.

The gong that the hierophant sounded in summoning Kore perhaps contributed to the awesomeness, the ἔκπληξις, of the ordeal.[128] The loss of sight, seeing only darkness in a kind of death, was like an experience of the Underworld.[129] It is precisely this sort of feeling that is attributed to the Mysteries in an Underworld scene depicted by Lucian, *Cataplus* 22. The characters comment on the total darkness, and one of them (Micyllus) asks: εἰπέ μοι—ἐτελέσθης γάρ, ὦ Κυνίσκε, δῆλον ὅτι τὰ Ἐλευσίνια—οὐκ ὅμοια τοῖς ἐκεῖ τὰ ἐνθάδε σοι δοκεῖ; Cyniscus replies: εὖ λέγεις· ἰδοὺ γοῦν προσέρχεται δαδουχοῦσά τις φοβερόν τι καὶ ἀπειλητικὸν προσβλέπουσα. ἢ ἄρα που Ἐρινύς ἐστιν; To which the answer is "yes".

---

[121] Frg. 15.

[122] Accordingly the word "Mysteria" probably meant "the festival (or ritual acts) of the Mystai." In modern discussion the word is usually taken to mean "secrets;" a μύστης is one who is "closed (with respect to his mouth)," he does not betray the secrets. Yet it is unlikely that a festival name would be tantamount simply to "Secrets," coined after a quality which this festival shares with many others that are not Mystery cults, rather than after, e.g., the name of a god or certain ritual acts, like a typical festival name. If a festival could be called "Secrets," it is odd that the Greeks never called a festival Ἄρρητα.

In the case of μυστήρια the meaning "secrets" is a later development; so we see it, e.g. in the Suda, s.v. Μυστήρια, derived from μύειν τὸ στόμα.

The first securely attested occurrence of the term is as the name of a festival. (Whether the word μυστήρια in Heraclitus 14 DK [= 87 Marcovich] belongs to Heraclitus or Clement of Alexandria is not clear to me; Clement may had added it as a "helpful" clarification; in any case Marcovich regards it as a reference probably to mystery cults of Demeter.) And as such it ought to refer to ritual acts, i.e. the acts of those whose eyes are shut. The verb μύω, "shut, close," is used far more frequently of shutting the eyes (cf. LSJ, s.v., Chantraine, *Dict. ét.*, s.v.) rather than the mouth or ears. One important use is "to shut one's eyes" against pain, e.g. while undergoing medical treatment—a process which has something in common with religious initiation.

[123] Bianchi, nos. 47, 49–50; on nos. 47 (Torre Nova sarcophagus) and 50 (Lovatelli urn) cf. below, Catalog, Iakchos, Sculpture, No. 6.

[124] See now R. Merkelbach, *Mithras*, Königsheim/Ts. 1984, pp. 136–137, figs. 29–30.

[125] The Gnostic treatise quoted by Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.8.42, seems to play on this aspect of the experience when in commenting on the practice of proceeding from the Lesser to the Greater Mysteries it quotes Heraclitus 25 DK (= 97 Marcovich): "Greater deaths obtain greater shares" (μόροι γὰρ μείζονες μείζονας μοίρας λαγχάνουσι). And a bit later, 5.8.44, a change of phrase makes it even clearer with respect to initiates of the Greater Mysteries: οἱ γὰρ τοὺς ἐκεῖ λαχόντες μόρους μείζονας μοίρας λαγχάνουσιν.

[126] Cf. the passage cited below from Lucian, *Cataplus*.

[127] There is a reference to the blindness of the Mystes in an epigram by Antiphilus, *A.P.* 9.298, describing a cure for blindness at the Mysteries:

σκίπων με πρὸς νηὸν ἀνήγαγεν, ὄντα βέβηλον
οὐ μοῦνον τελετῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἠελίου·
μύστην δ' ἀμφοτέρων με θεαὶ θέσαν, οἶδα δ' ἐκείνῃ
νυκτὶ καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν νύκτα καθηράμενος·

[128] Gong: Apollodorus, *On the Gods*, *FGrH* 244, F110b; cf. *Sacred Officials*, p. 47, n. 276. Ἔκπληξις: *Sacred Officials*, p. 51, line 36 (decree of 20/19 B.C.), with commentary, p. 56.

[129] Cf. Apuleius in the Isiac Mysteries, *Met.* 11.23 (285.12 Griffiths): *accessi confinium mortis et calcato Proserpinae limine per omnia vectus elementa remeavi....*

This torch-bearing figure appearing suddenly in the darkness must be one of the terrors that Plutarch had in mind. C.G. Brown argues persuasively that to some initiates this figure must have seemed to be Empousa, to others (as in Lucian) an Erinys, and to still others Hekate.[130] Inasmuch as the initiates perceived this figure, they could only have been partially blinded (wearing a diaphanous cloth), or the encounter may have occurred at a moment when the blind was removed.

Terror gives way to wonder, as the scene is transformed from darkness to brilliant light (μέγα φῶς) streaming from the Anaktoron. It is, we may assume, shortly after this moment that the initiates catch a glimpse of Demeter and Kore reunited, presumably within the Anaktoron. All this is seen and experienced, certainly not narrated; for again and again the words we hear from ancient writers about the Mysteries emphasize the *seeing*; and Aristotle emphasizes the *experience*.

It is hard, then, to imagine, in the time between passing by the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα and the vision of the Two Goddesses reunited, there was a narration, e.g. of the story of Demophon. Narration, as the initiates pass from the Rock to the Anaktoron, makes little sense; and a dramatization of the Demophon episode here would make even less sense. To have Demeter get off the Mirthless Rock, engage in a dialogue with Metaneira, and take care of Demophon would be extremely difficult to stage for all the initiates within the sanctuary and would hardly be conducive to maintaining the tension in which the initiates must have been kept, as they searched for Kore. The progression of events surely was simpler and more dramatic.

To get a sense of the shape of this progression it would be helpful to know how Kore made her return. It was of course with Eubouleus, as we have surmised. But where in the sanctuary did she ascend? The hydria in the Abbeg-Stiftung (*Figs. 22–23*) suggests that Demeter was still sitting on the Mirthless Rock when Kore greeted her. It would make sense if Kore made her ascent from somewhere in the vicinity, greeted her mother, and the two of them proceeded up to the Telesterion with Eubouleus. The place of ascension was suggested by George Mylonas.[131] On the north side of the precinct of the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα, there is a deep pit, marked "Cisterne" on Noack's plan (above, p. 25, *Ill. 7*); at regular intervals along its sides there are cavities cut for the insertion of beams, so that one could climb up or down. It was cut entirely in the rock; its location seems unlikely for a cistern, and in shape it is unlike other cisterns in and around the sanctuary. Right next to it is a set of steps cut in the cliff (*Ill. 10*) which lead away from it up to an elliptical opening in the wall of the cave; this opening is partly natural, perhaps partly artificial (*Ill. 11*). As Mylonas pointed out:

> It seems apparent that no water was ever found in that pit.... There can be little doubt that a specific use was made of the opening, of the stairway, and perhaps even of the pit; possibly all these elements served a single purpose. The obvious explanation is that they served for the portrayal of the fortunes of Persephone.... Perhaps they were used in the staging of the passage from the lower world, in providing Persephone's ascent to Eleusis.[132]

No excavation report, however, has been published on this pit, and we should perhaps hesitate to claim the pit for this purpose in the absence of a complete description. Yet the suggestion is attractive, and it does seem right to think that Kore emerged from the Underworld here, i.e. from the opening in the wall of the cave, and then walked across to her sorrowing

---

[130] Brown, pp. 41–50: Empousa on the basis of a fragment of Idomeneus of Lampsacus, *FGrHist* 338 F 2. Although he apparently argues in favor of an official position for Hekate in the Mysteries (on which see below, Appendix 5, "Hekate"), this argument really is unnecessary for the point which he makes. Hekate need not have been officially worshipped in the Mysteries for some of the worshippers to identify an underworld apparition with her. No one would claim that Empousa or Erinys was *worshipped* in the cult; their names, like Hekate, are simply used by initiates to describe a hellish apparition.

[131] *Eleusis*, p. 148.

[132] *Eleusis*, p. 148.

Ill. 10. Cave, steps in rear.

Ill. 12. Mirthless rock, as seen from rear opening in cave.

Ill. 11. Cave, rear opening.

mother. As one looks from this opening toward the Mirthless Rock (*Ill. 12*), it appears that part of the cave wall has been cut away somewhat to improve the line of sight from the opening to the Rock.

In any case, this sequence of events in the drama, while the initiates are still outside the Telesterion, leaves no room for the Demophon episode, which is consistent with our conclusion in Chapter 1 that this episode is an aition of the Thesmophoria and does not pertain to the Mysteries.

The Two Goddesses then walked with Eubouleus to the Telesterion, perhaps entering one of the north doors, but here we have little more than speculation to guide us. They were seen, I assume, at first by Epoptai, not by the Mystai.[133] The climactic moment for the Mystai was, it seems, the light streaming from the Anaktoron (i.e. the Telesterion): this signalled the Return of Kore. Moments later, within the Telesterion, the initiates beheld the vision of mother and daughter reunited (σεμνότητας ... φασμάτων ἁγίων).[134] There they found themselves, I suspect, in the company of the divine initiates, Heracles and Dionysus, and the god who invited the initiates, Triptolemos. The images on vases lead me to suggest this; in addition, if the figure of Eubouleus appeared, then it would seem appropriate that Triptolemos, his colleague in some contexts, appear as well. But all this of course is quite speculative.

The word φάσματα is used of this scene. I suspect that what the initiates saw at this point was not priests acting as gods but extraordinary images. In *Phaedrus* 249D–250C Plato uses a metaphor drawn from the Eleusinian Mysteries to describe the gulf that separates human beings from their earlier experience of τὰ ὄντα; in developing this metaphor he refers to τὰ ὄντα as ἱερά (250A). Although some, he says, may catch a glimpse of these things by looking at an earthly image, the difficulty is that "there is no light in the images here" on earth (οὐκ ἔνεστι φέγγος οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖς τῇδε ὁμοιώμασιν 250B). In contrast, what one saw earlier was full of light: κάλλος δὲ τότ' ἦν ἰδεῖν λαμπρόν, ὅτε σὺν εὐδαίμονι χορῷ μακαρίαν ὄψιν τε καὶ θέαν, ... εἶδόν τε καί ἐτελοῦντο τῶν τελετῶν ἣν θέμις λέγειν μακαριωτάτην, ἣν ὡργιάζομεν ὁλόκληροι μὲν αὐτοὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀπαθεῖς κακῶν ὅσα ἡμᾶς ἐν ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ὑπέμενεν, ὁλόκληρα δὲ καὶ ἁπλᾶ καὶ ἀτρεμῆ καὶ εὐδαίμονα φάσματα μυούμενοί τε καὶ ἐποπτεύοντες ἐν αὐγῇ καθαρᾷ, καθαροὶ ὄντες κτλ. (250B–C). The contrast between the earthly images, *in* which there is no light, and τὰ ὄντα which are likened to φάσματα in the Mysteries, implies that there is light *in* the latter. Although the latter are seen ἐν αὐγῇ καθαρᾷ, there is more to it than that, for the implication is that the form itself has light within it. What this suggests is that the images in the Telesterion, from which the metaphor is drawn, were illuminated from *within* (or from close up).[134a]

Images of this sort are attested for Mithraic cults. The Mithraic examples are sculptures which could be illuminated from behind, or bases hollowed out so that the image carved on the front communicated with an interior cavity and so could be illuminated from within.[135] None of these examples would provide much of a spectacle; they may even not have been used in the cult proper; but that is to be expected of Mithraism, which did not achieve its results through a show of imagery on the scale of Eleusis. They do at least show, however, a type of image which was illuminated from within, and which, on a larger scale, might have been used at Eleusis. Thus the metaphor in the *Phaedrus* receives at least limited substantiation in finds associated with later cult.

More significant evidence comes from

---

[133] This would explain the reference to a hierophantid "showing" (ἀνέφαινε) the *teletai* "*next to* the Anaktora of Deo" (*IG* II² 3764). The Anaktoron is the whole Telesterion: see Appendix 7.

[134] Plut. frg. 178 = Stobaeus 4.52.49.

[134a] On Mystery language in the *Phaedrus* and this passage in particular see Riedweg (above, Chap. 1, n. 107), pp. 30–69. Riedweg, *ibid.*, pp. 61–62, sees in the language of 254B—καὶ πάλιν εἶδεν αὐτὴν μετὰ σωφροσύνης ἐν ἁγνῷ βάθρῳ βεβῶσαν— an allusion to statuary shown in the Mysteries.

[135] Illustrated in Merkelbach (above, n. 124), figs. 87, 99, 124, 145, 164.

within the sanctuary at Eleusis. A votive plaque of the sort found in healing sanctuaries (*Fig. 78*) was discovered during the excavation of the sanctuary.[136] It shows a pair of eyes in relief and may refer to a cure of blindness (attested once otherwise for Eleusis),[137] but the top of the plaque has something which we ordinarily would not expect on a votive commemorating a healing—an extraordinary image of Demeter. The image is a complete surprise, in that it alludes to the vision in the Telesterion. Red rays emanate from her neck, ears, and hair. They do not correspond to anything that could be worn, and must therefore represent rays of light. The light is shooting out from the image. Whether the cure was of physical blindness or the blindness of the Mystes or both, it is impossible to say; but the rays must allude to the light streaming from (or near) the image in the cult.[138] It is therefore at least a reasonable hypothesis that the structure at the center of the Telesterion served to display images that could be illuminated, from within (or close up), to produce spectacular φάσματα.[139]

Plutarch's description might correspond, then, to the following sort of scene that greeted the initiates as they entered the Telesterion. As they moved about in the central space (τόποι καθαροί), taking in the brilliant images displayed in the center, they were surrounded by thousands of torches held by Epoptai (ὅσιοι καὶ καθαροί) standing on the steps along the walls. There was singing, led by Hymnagogoi, and perhaps also dancing (χορείας καὶ σεμνότητας ἀκουσμάτων ἱερῶν).[140]

VII. Artistic Representations and the Secrets of the Mysteries

Although it may seem surprising that works of art allude to scenes in the Mysteries, it would be wrong to conclude that such works revealed secrets to the uninitiated. It is important to keep in mind that they hardly ever represent human beings (an exceptional example, the Nimrud Tablet, was set up within the sanctuary and was presumably inaccessible to the uninitiated). The allusions would mean one thing to initiates, quite another to non-initiates.

It may be helpful to consider the question of the secrecy of the Sacred Objects (τὰ ἱερά). We happen to know that they included things as common as ears of grain.[141] (Alcibiades performed a parody of the Mysteries with his friends in a private house, which suggests that some of the materials that they needed for the celebration were readily available.) Despite the commonplace character of the objects, they remained secret simply because a non-initiate would not know that they had a role in the Mysteries.

Not every scene in Attic art with Demeter and Kore reflected the Mysteries. Some, e.g. libation scenes, referred to no particular event; others, such as the Return of Kore on a bell crater in New York by the Persephone Painter (with Hermes and Hekate),[142] derive from an epic story which reflects the Thesmophoria. To an unschooled non-initiate it would not be obvious that a certain scene reflected the myth of the Mysteries.

There is also a more general problem. We do not know, in fact, how much of the myth could be safely revealed. Some writers, like Isocrates and Pausanias, may have been hypersensitive

---

[136] *IG* II² 4639, published by O. Kern, *ArchEph* 1892, cols. 113–118, pl. 5 (colored drawing). Measurements: H. 0.192 m., W. 0.17 m., Th. 0.18 m.

[137] Epigram of Antiphilus, *A.P.* 9.298 (quoted above, n. 127); cf. O. Rubensohn, 'Demeter as Heilgottheit', *AM* 20, 1895, pp. 360–367.

[138] Cf. the Mithraic images, Merkelbach (above, n. 124), figs. 87, 124.

[139] On the structure see Appendix 7. Other references to φάσματα in the Mysteries: Aristides, *Eleusinian Oration*, 3; Proclus, *In R.* 2.185.3–4 Kroll (here translated into Hades).

[140] Hymnagogoi: *Sacred Officials*, p. 51, lines 18–20, and pp. 97–98.

[141] Grain: see below, pp. 93–94. Perhaps also grain-working implements such as a mortar and pestle: Burkert, *Homo Necans*, pp. 272–273, on Theophr. in Porph. *Abst.* 216 (W. Pötscher, *Theophrastos* ΠΕΡΙ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ [1964], p. 148), following Delatte.

[142] Above, p. 33; below, Appendix 5, p. 118.

and extended the area of secrecy. So in the absence of information about the limits of secrecy we are left with an impression (perhaps a false impression) that vase painters had greater freedom in alluding to the myth than prose writers. But the "greater freedom" may simply have to do with what could safely be expressed in the medium. Prose writers, for example, might have had a very difficult time of it if they recounted some of the same scenes that appear in art; they would have been under an implicit obligation to identify the source or open to a temptation to say too much. It is perhaps for that reason that we hear so little in literature of the Mirthless Rock and of Eubouleus and Kore.

We should also keep in mind, and this may be the most important consideration, that vases like the Regina Vasorum were probably sold only to initiates, to be taken home as souvenirs.[143] These treasured mementos would finally be buried with them; in fact, the vast majority of these vases have been found in graves. So it is not at all clear that the vase scenes which have been so helpful in the present inquiry would normally have been accessible to non-initiates.

VIII. The Birth of a Child in the Mysteries

According to the Church Father Hippolytus, the hierophant proclaimed the birth of a boy in the rite (the boy was called Brimos and his mother Brimo):[144] ἱερὸν ἔτεκε ποτνία κοῦρον, Βριμὼ Βριμόν. For Brimos various candidates have been put forward, Ploutos and Iakchos being the most likely.[145] It is safe to say from the iconographic evidence that Iakchos can be excluded, simply because Iakchos never appears in Classical art as a child.[146] The only appropriate child would be Ploutos.[147]

The father of Ploutos was evidently of virtually no interest at Eleusis, though the question of his identity has vexed modern scholars. It has been tempting, for instance, to see Ploutos as child of Plouton and Kore, because of the similarity of the names Plouton and Ploutos and their common attribute, the horn of plenty, and because the name Brimo is often given to Persephone.[148] However, Plouton is not otherwise attested as father of Ploutos. In literature Ploutos is the son of Demeter, by Iasios in Hesiod, *Th.* 969–974, by an unnamed father in the Attic skolion quoted above.[149] Iasios/Iasion has no connection with Eleusis; his name never appears in Eleusinian myth.[150] O. Walter may be right to think that at Eleusis Zeus was the father of Ploutos:[151] Clement of Alexandria refers to Demeter as Brimo, and other sources allude to a union of Demeter and Zeus.[152] However, Zeus rarely appears in Eleusinian scenes. For

---

[143] Cf. Burkert, *Mystery Cults*, p. 46 and n. 84.

[144] *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, 5.8.40 Marcovich.

[145] See, e.g., W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, p. 288.

[146] The Orphic poem cited by Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, 2.21.1, which tells of Baubo uncovering herself, to reveal "Iakchos" under her dress, is not relevant to the Eleusinian Mysteries; see Graf, *Eleusis*, Exk. III, pp. 194–199. It is another instance of the name Ἴακχος used poetically for Βάκχος; see above, p. 65.

A fragment of a crater from Al-Mina in Oxford, Inv. No. 1956–355 (Metzger, *Recherches*, pp. 52–52, no. 3, pl. XXV.2; *LIMC*, Demeter 389 with pl.), shows the child Dionysus sitting on the knees of (apparently) Demeter, with Kore (?) to the left holding two torches. I find it impossible to place it in a specifically Eleusinian context; the problem is compounded by the presence of the warrior on the far left. See now *LIMC*, Iakchos 8.

[147] Some scholars have seen Ploutos on a late-fifth-century relief in Vienna, Kunsthistoriches Museum, I 1095 (*LIMC*, Demeter 272 with pl.), and relate the scene to his appearance in the Mysteries; Nilsson, 'Die eleusinische Relief aus der Sammlung Este', *ARW* 34, 1937, pp. 108–110 (= *Opuscula Selecta* II, pp. 624–627), saw here the purification of Demophon by fire. None of this is very likely; see the excellent discussion by Peschlow-Bindokat, pp. 141–142, whose proposal to take the relief as a representation of Demeter, Kore, and Asclepius (with no child) is the most persuasive put forward so far.

[148] Cf. the examples cited in LSJ, s.v. βριμώ.

[149] P. 54.

[150] On Iasion at Eleusis see above, p. 69, n. 32.

[151] O. Walter, 'Die heilige Familie von Eleusis', *ÖJh* 30, 1927, pp. 50–70, esp. 61–68.

[152] Listed by Walter (above, n. 151), p. 67, n. 46. Now perhaps also on an Apulian loutrophoros, above, p. 50.

Eleusis maternity was clearly more important. Moreover, Ploutos as personification can be fully understood through only a single relationship, that of son and mother: Ploutos is the wealth that comes from Demeter. Such a single relationship is typical of personifications. When Bacchylides called Eirene the mother of Ploutos,[153] no one would be so pedantic as to inquire about the father, nor when, for example, Pindar referred to Hybris as mother of Koros.[154] A poet could of course list both parents, as Hesiod liked to do in his *Theogony*, but in the case of many personifications it was simply unnecessary to know both parents to catch the sense of the relationship between parent and child, and this was surely true of Demeter and Ploutos at Eleusis.

The varying ages of Ploutos in our representations, from infant to young boy of ten to twelve years,[155] would on the face of it suggest that a precise age was not critical. In any case the representations as a group do not provide an argument for the notion that Ploutos appeared in the cult as the *newborn* child of Demeter.

Let us examine the representations more closely. In most of them Ploutos is several years old. The Agora reliefs (*Figs. 9–10*), where he appears as an infant held by Eubouleus, were probably influenced by the famous statue of Eirene and Ploutos by Cephisodotus and therefore cannot be expected to reflect the cult.[156] A phiale by Douris in Malibu (*Fig. 77*) shows a gathering of gods, including Plouton, Demeter, Kore with Ploutos, Poseidon, Amphitrite, Dionysus, and Ares (among others). The scene concerns a divine assembly and seems not to be specifically related to the Mysteries. The hydria from Rhodes (*Fig. 29*) is certainly Eleusinian but it departs from the more typical fourth-century Eleusinian cult scene in adding several imaginative touches that are not from the Mysteries: e.g. Aphrodite and other figures in the upper corners, on the fringes. The woman in the center, presumably Ge, who is emerging from the earth holding a horn of plenty with the infant Ploutos sitting on it, looks like another such touch.[157] This surely cannot depict the *birth* of Ploutos, for Ge, after all, is not his mother; here Ge seems to assume the role of Kourotrophos. The scene may in part be a very personal allusion by this artist to what took place in the cult drama, with the emphasis on the *dramatic* quality of the appearance of Ploutos. But in the absence of a secure interpretation of the figures in the upper corners it is hard to have confidence in any overall interpretation relating the scene to cult. In any case it seems that we can no more rely on this artist to bring us close to the event in the Mysteries than we can on the reliefs from the Agora that were influenced by Cephisodotus.

When we turn to a more reliable set of scenes, namely other fourth-century scenes of the cult myth, we see that Ploutos is always an older boy, and this is also the case in the Lakrateides Relief and the Great Eleusinian Relief. We may therefore tentatively conclude that the child who appears in the Mysteries is an older boy, and, in addition, that a literal birth was not part of the Mysteries in the Classical period.

If this is case, what are we to make of the information in Hippolytus? According to him the hierophant cried, "Potnia gave birth to a Sacred Boy."[158] It is important to recognize that the verb (ἔτεκε) is in the aorist tense; hence the act is a simple past event, and there is no need to translate it as a perfect with reference to the recent present (as it is usually translated): "She

---

[153] *Paean* 4.61–62.

[154] *O.* 13.10. For discussion of such personifications in art see A. Shapiro, 'The Origins of Allegory in Greek Art', *Boreas* 9, 1986, pp. 4–23.

[155] See above, pp. 49–54.

[156] See above, pp. 56–57.

[157] Ge was probably not part of a drama in the Mysteries, for she is unattested in the cult; restoration of her in *IG* I³ 5 is unconvincing. Of course the earth was essential to the cult's agrarian benefits, to (the growth of) Ploutos, and this may be what the artist had in mind; this function of the earth was acknowledged in the mystic cry ὖε κύε (Procl., *In Ti.* 3.176.30D; Hippol., *Ref.* 5.7.34), perhaps to be connected with the Plemochoai; cf. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, pp. 270–271.

[158] Above, p. 91.

has (just) given birth." A similar sentence in Euripides' *Supplices* (often taken to be an echo of the hierophant's words as quoted by Hippolytus) is also best understood as a simple past event:[159] ἔτεκες καὶ σύ ποτ', ὦ πότνια, κοῦρον φίλα ποιησαμένα λέκτρα πόσει σῷ (54–55). So it seems reasonable to conclude that the hierophant merely stated, in a most solemn and dramatic manner, that the Sacred Boy (Ploutos) was the son of the Potnia.

How then are we to imagine Ploutos in the drama at Eleusis? The two vases in St. Petersburg provide a clue. On the Regina Vasorum (*Figs. 17–19*) Kore is reunited with her mother, but Ploutos is not present. On the pelike from Kerch (*Figs. 20–21*) we have nearly the same scene, but now Ploutos is present and Triptolemos, hovering above, seems about to depart. This would suggest what we should in any case expect: Ploutos appears after the return of Kore. Ploutos, just like the grain in the *Homeric Hymn*, can only appear when Demeter is in joyous spirits.

On the hydria in Bern (*Figs. 22–23*) all the figures (except Demeter on the Mirthless Rock) are directing their gaze at Ploutos.[160] On the Tübingen lekanis cover (*Fig. 30*) only Demeter and Kore gaze at Ploutos, and only this much of the Athens lekanis cover (*Fig. 3*) is preserved, where, again, Demeter is looking down at Ploutos or rather at both Ploutos and the grainstalks, while Ploutos looks at the stalks springing from the ground. And of course on the Great Eleusinian Relief the Two Goddesses look only at Ploutos. In these last two scenes but especially in the Great Eleusinian Relief the boy drapes his cloak in a way that suggests that he has just uncovered himself, revealing his boyish beauty. E.B. Harrison has discussed this motif of drawing aside the himation in images of Apollo in which the god reveals himself.[161] She also calls attention to Theseus and Pirithous leaping up "out of their clothes" from the table at the wedding feast when the Centaurs suddenly begin their violence, and to the scene in Euripides' *Ion*, where Ion leaps out of his clothes just when Creusa's attempt on his life is revealed.[162] In these scenes clothes are shed in a moment of surprise and excitement. But the Great Eleusinian Relief suggests a more deliberate revelation: the revelation of the beauty of Ploutos after the return of Kore.

The suddenness of the appearance of Ploutos, which in vase painting is reflected in the way those around him direct their gaze toward him, is reminiscent of the *Homeric Hymn*, which tells us: "Greatly prosperous is he whom of mortal men those goddesses love: *immediately* they send to him Ploutos...."[163] The *Hymn* need not be alluding to anything in the cult, but just to the power the goddesses have over Ploutos and their eagerness to help those dear to them. When they wish, they make him appear quickly.

Pindar's πλοῦτος in *O.* 2.53–56, standing at the beginning of eschatological reflections that seem to be drawn from a mystery cult,[164] shares the lustrous quality of Ploutos in the Eleusinian Relief and vase painting. His πλοῦτος is ἀρεταῖς δεδαιδαλμένος, ἂν ἀστὴρ ἀρίζηλος, ἐτυμώτατον ἀνδρὶ φέγγος.[165]

So we would probably not be wrong in supposing that in the sacred drama Ploutos appeared suddenly, dramatically, after the Return of Kore, signalled by the voice of the hierophant. We have only part of what he said: Ἱερὸν ἔτεκε πότνια κοῦρον.

Ploutos of course is the personification of the new grain, the abundance of the harvest. There is, in fact, a moment in the Mysteries

---

[159] Cf. Richardson, *Hymn*, p. 27.

[160] The same seems to be true of the Sandford-Graham pelike, of which we possess only a rough drawing.

[161] 'Apollo's Cloak', in *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology: a Tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen*, Locust Valley, N.Y. 1979, pp. 91–98. I wish to thank O. Palagia for bringing this motif and this article to my attention.

[162] *Ion* 1208–1209.

[163] Lines 486–489.

[164] Cf. Richardson, *Hymn*, p. 318.

[165] Richardson, *Hymn*, p. 318, notes the similarity to Iakchos in Aristophanes' *Frogs*, 343ff.: νυκτέρου τελετῆς φωσφόρος ἀστήρ.

when an ear of grain was revealed; this we learn from the same source who told of the hierophant's cry about the birth of a Boy, Hippolytus of Rome.[166] He is actually quoting a Gnostic tract, which has retained much of the form and a fair amount of the content of an older, pagan commentary on a hymn to Attis.[167] Here in translation are the parts of the passage which seem to me most likely derived from the older commentary:

> The Phrygians also say that he (sc. Attis) is "the green ear of harvested grain" and after the Phrygians ... the Athenians, performing the Eleusinian initiations and showing to the *epoptai* in silence the great and marvelous and perfect mystery there, a harvested ear of grain. This ear is ... also for the Athenians ... illumination great and perfect, just as the hierophant himself (not castrated like Attis ... but made a eunuch by means of hemlock ...) at night in Eleusis in the midst of much fire, performing the great and ineffable mysteries shouts and cries the words: 'Potnia gave birth to a sacred boy, Brimo to Brimos,' i.e. the "mighty" to the 'mighty one'....[168]

Most historians of Greek religion have accepted the basic information here as valid, namely that an ear of wheat was shown at the *epoptika*, the second stage of the Mysteries. The ear of grain is in perfect harmony with the appearance of Ploutos, personification of the abundance of the harvest. We of course cannot determine precisely the manner in which Ploutos and the grain were shown. It is conceivable that only an ear of grain was shown, Ploutos being implicit. But the prominence of Ploutos in painting and sculpture seems rather to suggest that the sudden revelation of the grain coincided with the appearance of the boy. The essential elements are nicely brought together in the Great Eleusinian Relief (*Fig. 1*), and are even more striking on the lekanis cover in Athens (*Fig. 3*). But the relief may be more faithful to the cult, if what the Epoptai saw at this second stage, after the Mystai had left, was the boy Ploutos holding the grain up in his hand as the Epoptai looked on in silence.

* * *

The Mysteria, as a festival, maintained continuity with some of the themes of the older Thesmophoria but responded in new ways to religious desires for dealing with the prospect of Death and life in the Underworld. The revelations in the rite were simple yet profound; much of their religious impact lay in their dramatic quality, in the πάθος experienced by the audience.[169] The initiates shared the suffering

---

[166] *Ref.* 5.8.39–41 Marcovich: Λέγουσι δὲ αὐτόν, φησί, Φρύγες καὶ 'χλοερὸν στάχυν τεθερισμένον', καὶ μετὰ τοὺς Φρύγας Ἀθηναῖοι, μυοῦντες Ἐλευσίνια καὶ ἐπιδεικνύντες τοῖς ἐποπτεύουσι τὸ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ τελεώτατον ἐποπτικὸν ἐκεῖ μυστήριον ἐν σιωπῇ, τεθερισμένον στάχυν. ὁ δὲ στάχυς οὗτός ἐστι, <φησί,> καὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ὁ παρὰ τοῦ ἀχαρακτηρίστου φωστὴρ τέλειος μέγας, καθάπερ αὐτὸς ὁ ἱεροφάντης—οὐκ ἀποκεκομμένος μέν, ὡς ὁ Ἄττις, <φησίν,> εὐνουχισμένος δὲ διὰ κωνείου καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπηρτημένος τὴν σαρκικὴν γένεσιν—νυκτὸς ἐν <Ἐ>λευσῖνι ὑπὸ πολλῷ πυρὶ τελῶν τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἄρρητα μυστήρια βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγε λέγων· Ἱερὸν ἔτεκε μότνια κοῦρον Βριμὼ Βριμόν', τουτέστιν ἰσχυρὰ ἰσχυρόν. πότνια δέ ἐστι, φησίν, ἡ γένεσις ἡ πνευματική, ἡ ἐπουράνιος, ἡ ἄνω· ἰσχυρὸς δέ ἐστιν ὁ οὕτω γεννώμενος. ἔστι δὲ λεγόμενον τὸ μυστήριον Ἐλευσίν<ιον> καὶ ἀνακτόρειον. The last emendation is my own; see below, n. 168.

[167] The best discussion of this Gnostic document: J. Frickel, *Hellenistische Erlösung in christlicher Deutung: Die gnostische Naassenerschrift* (Nag Hammadi Studies, 19), Leiden 1984. Frickel argues persuasively that the older commentary was converted by an Anthropos-Gnostic into a teaching tract, which in turn was reworked to some extent by a later Pneuma-Gnostic. He reconstructs the text of the Anthropos-Gnostic, but the older commentary has been so thoroughly assimilated by this Gnostic, and parts of it discarded, that it is impossible to make a precise reconstruction of it.

[168] The Gnostic adds: "And the aforesaid mystery is called 'Eleusin<ian>' and 'Anaktoreian'." We should probably emend 'Ελευσίν to 'Ελευσίν<ιον>, since we expect an adjective (like ἀνακτόρειον) here. Both adjectives are appropriate: the event took place in the Anaktoron at Eleusis (on which see Appendix 7).

[169] Cf. Burkert, *Mystery Cults*, pp. 113–114, citing Procl. *In R.* 2.108.17–24.

of Demeter and Kore and their ultimate joy. Their relation to the Two Goddesses changed forever, and that gave them θάρσος, the confidence they needed for the journey which would take them to meet Kore again, as the Thea.[170] Their πάθος, of course, we will never be able to capture. Images in art and literature give us occasional suggestions of what they might have seen, but usually translated into mythic form. The effect on individuals we can feel in rare but eloquent statements, like Cicero's, which he made to Atticus (*De Legibus* 2.36.). Or the epigram of Crinagoras of Mytilene (*A.P.* 11.42), which seems a bit closer to the power of the experience.[171] Or the simple yet impressive words carved on stone by an initiate from Thrace:

> So we hasten to see, of Greece, Athens, but of Athens, Eleusis, knowing that the Polis is the crown of Europe, but the Sanctuary the crown of the Polis.[172]

---

[170] Cf. Procl. *In R.* 2.185.11–12 Kroll: τῶν παρὰ τῇ Κόρῃ δώρων ἀπολαύειν, ἐπειδὰν λυθῶσι τῶν σωμάτων.

[171] A.S.F. Gow & D.L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip and Some Contemporary Epigrams*, Cambridge 1968, pp. 218–219, Crinagoras 35: "... go ... to Attica to see those nights of the great Mysteries of Demeter; from them you shall get a heart free of care while you live and lighter to bear when you join the realm of the majority."

[172] Y. Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie d'Isis à Maronée* (EPRO, 49), Leiden 1975, p. 18, lines 38–41: τοιγαροῦν τῆς μὲν Ἑλλάδος ἰδεῖν σπεύδομεν τὰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν δ' Ἀθηνῶν Ἐλευσῖνα, τῆς μὲν Εὐρώπης νομίζοντες τὴν πόλιν, τῆς δὲ πόλεως τὸ ἱερὸν κόσμον.

Conclusions

Although the conclusions have already been given in Chapters 1–3, the reader may find it convenient to have here a summary of (1) the iconography of the more problematic Eleusinian gods and (2) the interpretation of the *Homeric Hymn*, discussed at various points in the Chapters and Appendices.

I. Iconography

Ploutos. In scenes closely related to the Mysteries he appears as an older boy, i.e. (in modern terms) at most about twelve years old; he is usually naked but for a loosely draped himation, holds a cornucopia (or occasionally just stalks of grain), and sometimes wears a wreath of grain.[1]

Plouton. He appears as a mature, bearded figure (sometimes his hair is white), holding a scepter and/or cornucopia.[2]

Eubouleus. He is a torchbearer (the number of torches is not significant).[3] From the end of the fifth century he wears a knee-length tunic and high boots; before that time his costume is more variable.[4] In fifth-century scenes he stands between Theos and Thea; in the fourth century he sometimes stands next to Thea (in the Underworld) or Kore (just after her return).[5]

Iakchos. He, too, holds one or two torches and, from the end of the fifth century, wears a knee-length tunic, over which a himation is draped, and high boots; previously his costume was less elaborate.[6] In the company of Eubouleus he can be distinguished by his himation; when Eubouleus is not present, the himation is sometimes missing, but there is always a reference in the scene to his function as god of the initiates' procession: one or more initiates/the arrival of the initiates' procession at its destination.[7]

Eumolpos. A kingly figure, he carries a scepter, like the hierophants who were his descendants.[8] In some representations, perhaps all, he symbolizes the *cult* of the Mysteries.[9]

II. The *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*

Certain "deficiencies" in the story of the Rape and Return of Kore as told in the *Homeric Hymn*, which were the subject of an earlier study, suggested that the story was not closely related to the Eleusinian Mysteries.[10] The investigation undertaken here of the artistic rep-

---

[1] Chap. 2; Appendix 2.
[2] Appendix 3, I–II.
[3] Above, pp. 52–53, 56–59.
[4] Above, pp. 71–72.
[5] Above, pp. 78–84.
[6] Above, pp. 64–70.
[7] Above, pp. 62, 78–79.
[8] Chap. 3, IV, pp. 75–78.
[9] Above, pp. 75–76, 78, 82.
[10] Above, pp. 13–14.

resentations and the sacred topography of the sanctuary revealed two additional, major shortcomings in the *Hymn*; they not only reinforce the earlier findings but provide a perspective from which we can examine the apparently aetiological episodes in the *Hymn* and ascertain which cult is in fact reflected in this version of the story.

First, the *Hymn* does not mention the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα, the rock on which Demeter sat when she arrived at Eleusis (the *Hymn* refers only to her sorrowful state, ἀγέλαστος ἄπαστος, as she sits within the house of Keleos [line 200]). The Mirthless Rock, however, was an essential part of the sacred landscape of the Eleusinian sanctuary and fundamental to the myth of the Mysteries. It was near the entrance to the sanctuary ([Apollod.], *Bibl.* 1.30), and has been situated by modern scholars on the cliff above the nearby cave (Rubensohn) or next to it (Mylonas). It is in fact within the cave, which was known as an entrance to the Underworld (Orph. *H.* 18.14–15).[11] It appears in Eleusinian scenes on red-figure vases of the fifth and fourth centuries,[12] and some of these scenes suggest that this part of the myth was reenacted as the initiates entered the sanctuary.[13]

Second, the *Hymn* makes no reference to Eubouleus. A god of central importance in the Mysteries, he appears in sacred laws at Eleusis in the fifth and fourth centuries; his priest is attested in the Hellenistic period (and no doubt existed earlier).[14] The laws imply that, in sacrificial terms, he was on a par with Triptolemos, and literary sources also couple him with Triptolemos.[15] His function in the cult myth has been somewhat enigmatic, but the context in which he appears on vases allows us to deduce that his task was to escort Kore back from Hades.[16]

The vase paintings reveal that the beginning of the myth *in the cult* consisted of two simultaneous images—Demeter on the Mirthless Rock, Kore and Eubouleus in Hades.[17]

There is of course nothing precisely like this in the *Hymn*, and it raises anew the question, If the *Hymn* does not reflect the Mysteries, to which cult do the aetiological episodes of the *Hymn* refer? The Mysteries enter the *Hymn* only at the end: they are a *new* foundation, a gift to the Eleusinians. This particular gift was not inevitable; a different one could have served the story equally well.[18] What is striking here is the relative newness of the Mysteries. The cult is established only at the end of the poem. This, it seems, corresponds to cultic reality; it is consistent with other grounds for thinking that the Mysteries were a more recent phenomenon than the Thesmophoria, which in fact were quite ancient.[19] The aetiological elements that occur earlier than the end of the *Hymn* should, in theory, not belong to a cult not yet established but to a pre-existing one.[20]

The main aetiological episodes are Iambe's mockery and the nursing of Demophon.

It seems impossible to find a place for the nursing scene in the cult myth as enacted in the Mysteries. The cult myth is simple and very dramatic. As the initiates enter the sanctuary, Demeter sits on the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα, Kore is still in the Underworld. The initiates are kept in a state of tense expectation right up to the moment when they enter the Telesterion, where they finally behold the Two Goddesses reunited: the reunion follows quickly upon the scene of separation.[21] The Demophon episode would ill suit this simple drama; it would break the tension, and it would have to be staged within the very small precinct surrounding the Mirthless Rock, an unsuitable space for viewing.[22] In fact this episode does *not occur* in any of the numerous vase scenes that allude to the Mysteries.

---

[11] Chap. 1, II.
[12] Above, pp. 14, 16, 75, 78, 121.
[13] Above, pp. 84–85.
[14] Chap. 2, III.
[15] Above, p. 56.
[16] Above, pp. 71–73.
[17] Above, pp. 84–85.
[18] Above, p. 35.
[19] Above, pp. 29–36.
[20] Above, p. 35, n. 107.
[21] Above, pp. 85–90.
[22] Above, pp. 87–89.

Iambe's mockery is a clear aition of ritual mockery, and has been seen as a reference to the mockery in the Mysteries known as Gephyrismos. This ritual, however, was a peripheral event in the Mysteries, whereas the position of the mockery in the *Hymn* was fairly central. The cult to which the mockery in the *Hymn* alludes is revealed by Apollodorus, who tells us, clearly and straightforwardly, that the Iambe episode is an aition of the Thesmophoria (*Bibl.* 1.5.1).[23] This is consistent with Graf's finding that the analogous Baubo episode, which appears in other versions of the myth, reflects practice at the Thesmophoria.[24]

The critical act in the Demophon episode is nursing (the dipping in fire to produce immortalization is of course a folktale theme which serves to point up Demeter's special powers as nurse). Nursing is not a primary concern of the Mysteries, yet the Demophon episode is, as one writer put it, "the centrepiece of the *Hymn*." The Demeter festival in which nursing *is* a major concern is, again, the Thesmophoria.[25] The heraldess in *Thesmophoriazusae* (295–297) directs the women to pray to "the two Thesmophoroi and Plouto<n> and Kalligeneia and Kourotrophos...." Kourotrophos belongs to the core of the festival. Later in the play we see that one of the Thesmophoriazousai is nursing a child: this would be impossible at the Mysteries but of course is quite appropriate at the Thesmophoria).[26] Another version of the story, told by Hyginus, which again features the nursing as a central event, ends with the founding of the Thesmophoria.[27]

The story in the *Hymn*, therefore, to the extent that it is aetiological, looks very much like an aition of the Thesmophoria, the very old festival that was concerned primarily with women's fertility (of which nursing was of course an integral part) and with the fertility of the land. This helps to explain other remarkable qualities about the *Hymn*. On the earthly level the story is essentially about women; none of the males has a role or speaks (the only male voices come from heaven, those of Zeus and Helios): on earth women are in control.[28]

This helps also to explain the presence of Hekate in the *Hymn*, a goddess who certainly had no role in the Mysteries.[29] In the *Hymn* she helps Demeter in her search, and in the end joins in celebrating with her the return of Kore. At Athens one of Hekate's important roles was that of Kourotrophoes, and it is this sort of role that seems to be suggested by her efforts in the *Hymn*: she serves as a mythic analogue to the Kourotrophos of cult.[30]

The prominence in the *Hymn* of the Parthenion/Callichoron Well as the place where Demeter sat is probably also a reflection of the importance of wells and springs to the Thesmophoria, and above all the festival's emphasis on purity, which goes together with fasting, Νηστεία, the name of the principal day of the Thesmophoria.[31] (We have no specific evidence for drinking a Kykeon at the Thesmophoria, but it would be surprising if the women did not in fact break their fast by means of this rather widespread custom.[32]) The Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα, on the other hand, which belongs to the Mysteries, is situated by the entrance to Hades, the realm that is a principal focus of this cult. In the Thesmophoria the Afterlife of course is not a significant concern, and this is reflected in the different landscape.[33]

The Thesmophoria were celebrated in many places in Attica, including Eleusis. The festival was evidently much older than the Mysteries, but the Mysteries incorporated many of its elements and gave them different shape and emphasis within a rite that looked beyond the agrarian domain of Demeter and Kore to the Afterlife.[34]

The *Hymn* therefore is not so superficially

---

[23] Above, p. 30.
[24] Above, p. 30.
[25] Above, pp. 30–32.
[26] Above, p. 31.
[27] Above, p. 32.
[28] Above, p. 32.
[29] Above, pp. 33–34; below Appendix 5.
[30] Above, p. 33.
[31] Above, pp. 34–35.
[32] Above, p. 35, n. 107.
[33] Above, pp. 34–36.
[34] Above, pp. 29, 35–37.

connected with Eleusis as I proposed in my earlier study (I had not yet recognized the incorrectness of the modern habit of equating "Eleusis" with the Mysteries). Eleusis was the site of several important cults, such as the Dionysia and Haloa, in addition to the Mysteria and Thesmophoria.[35] In fact, the *Hymn*'s Eleusinian frame of reference is more ancient than that of the myth of the Mysteries.

---

[35] Dionysia: Appendix 6, II.

Appendix 1

Triptolemos as Child

Schwarz states several times that Demeter is the mother of Triptolemos.[1] She evidently bases her opinion on a reference to Panyassis by Apollodorus, which she has misconstrued.

Apollodorus (1.5.1–2), in the course of telling the story of Demeter's arrival and stay in Eleusis, recounts her nursing of Demophon, whom he calls the son of Keleos and Metaneira. He concludes the nursing episode with her gift of grain to Triptolemos, "the elder of Metaneira's children," and with a description of his mission. He began the episode at the home of Keleos with the sentence: ἔπειτα πρὸς Κελεὸν ἐλθοῦσα τὸν βασιλεύοντα τότε Ἐλευσινίων. At the conclusion of the episode he wrote: Πανύασις δὲ Τριπτόλεμον Ἐλευσῖνος λέγει· φησὶ γὰρ Δήμητρα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν. Φερεκύδης δέ φησιν αὐτὸν Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Γῆς. Apollodorus does not say that Panyassis reported *Demeter* to be the mother of Triptolemos. In the story that Apollodorus told, Keleos was the father of Triptolemos (Metaneira his mother). In the different version which Apollodorus cites from Panyassis, however, "Demeter went to (the hero) Eleusis," who here takes the place of Keleos, the father of Triptolemos in the version just told. The clause ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν (sc. Eleusis) does not indicate marriage, which would be quite remarkable in this context and would surely have elicited some comment from Apollodorus; it simply parallels πρὸς Κελεὸν ἐλθοῦσα.[2] In the first (most common) version Demeter "went to (the house of) Keleos"; but according to Panyassis "she went to (the house of) Eleusis," the eponymous hero, who in this version is the father of Triptolemos.

This misinterpretation may have been a factor in disposing Schwarz to regard the boy in the Great Eleusinian Relief, who does indeed look like a *Schützling*, as Triptolemos.[3] Otherwise we possess no testimonium from antiquity that Demeter was Triptolemos' mother.

Nor is there any account in a *Classical* Greek source that makes Demeter the *nurse* of Triptolemos (rather than Demophon).[4] The first occurrence of this motif in poetry is in Ovid,

---

[1] *Triptolemos*, pp. 2, 128, 147, 239.

[2] Cf. Sfameni Gasparro, pp. 158–159.

[3] *Triptolemos*, p. 194: "Die beiden Göttinnen flankieren also ihren Schützling."

[4] Sfameni Gasparro, p. 160 (following R. Rapetti, 'Paniassi ed Eracle iniziato ai misteri eleusini', *PP* 107, 1966, pp. 131–135), assumes that such an account was given by Panyassis, since he related that Eleusis was the father of Triptolemos, and that Eleusis was the host of Demeter at Eleusis: it would seem to follow that Demeter nursed him instead of Demophon, the son of Keleos in the version just narrated by Apollodorus. However, in the version just narrated Demophon is the younger, Triptolemos the *elder* son of Keleos. Since Apollodorus in reporting the variant in Panyassis (that Eleusis is host of Demeter and father of Triptolemos) says nothing to contradict this, the reader assumes that the same configuration of children existed in Panyassis' account: Triptolemos would be the elder son, and so there is no justification for assuming that Demeter nursed

Fasti, 4.539–560: a version of the story of the Rape and Search drawn from many sources including of course the poet's own imagination.[4a] The motif also appears in a scholion to Nicander, *Theriaca*, 484.[5] Its source is probably Alexandrian.[6] It recurs in Hyginus, *Fab.* 147 (Rose), Servius, *ad* Verg. *Georg.* 1.19, and Lactantius Placidus, *ad* Stat., *Theb.* 2.382. The original artistic purpose behind the substitution of Triptolemos for Demophon may have been to provide a smoother transition from the nursing episode to the mission of Triptolemos by obviating the penalty which had to be meted out at end of the Demophon episode (e.g., his death, war with the Eleusinians); or the figure of Demophon may simply have been meaningless to a local tradition in which this variant arose. In any case, the variant does not appear in the Attic tradition. Nevertheless, Schwarz seems to claim it as evidence for an Attic version of the myth.[7]

Richardson also saw Triptolemos as nursling of Demeter, for various reasons (but he did not claim Demeter was Triptolemos' mother). His primary evidence was artistic representation: "But, as he [Triptolemos] becomes younger and emerges as the special favourite of Demeter, he comes to supplant Demophon as her nursling."[8] In support of this notion Richardson proposed that the deity Θρεπτός who appears in a list of Eumolpid sacrifices from the end of the fifth century is really Triptolemos.[9] The conjecture is unlikely: in all other epigraphic documents, including three laws which ordain sacrifice to Triptolemos, Triptolemos is always called Triptolemos.[10] It is much more conceivable that Θρεπτός is a local (i.e. Eumolpid) name for a nursling similar to the one who in the *Homeric Hymn* is called Demophon, just as on an Attic vase (*Fig. 11*) Παρθένος may be a local designation for the girl who first met Demeter after her arrival, rather than, for example, Kallidike, the name in the *Hymn* (line 145).[11] The fact that the Eumolpidae are somehow allied with the priestess of [Demeter] in making the sacrifice to Θρεπτός, suggests a possibile connection with the Thesmophoria, for this priestess undoubtedly officiated at the

---

him. Indeed it would be very strange if Apollodorus noted Panyassis' alteration of the father of Triptolemos but said nothing about the even more striking alteration of the boy who was nursed.

What decides the matter for Sfameni Gasparro is a fragment of Panyassis in Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* 2.35.3 (= Panyassis, fr. 17 Matthews), in which Demeter is mentioned among gods who spent a year (or a "great year") serving a mortal; she assumes that the mortal in this case was Eleusis, and her service was that of kourotrophos. This identification of the mortal of course is merely hypothetical; if true, it still does not indicate that she was kourotrophos of Triptolemos.

[4a] For a discussion of some of Ovid's sources and literary methods here see S. Hinds, *The Metamorphosis of Persephone: Ovid and the Self-conscious Muse*, Cambridge 1987, pp. 65–68.

[5] 484c Crugnola.

[6] F. Montanari, 'L'episodio eleusino delle peregrinazioni di Demetra. A proposito delle fonti di Ovidio, *Fast.* IV 502–62 e *Metam.* V 446–61', *Ann Pisa* 4, 1974, pp. 109–137, believes that it occurred in Nicander's *Heteroeumena*, but the case is quite hypothetical.

[7] Her discussion, *Triptolemos*, pp. 236–237, of an Eleusinian version and an Attic version (*Fassung*) of the myth, is hard to follow; confusion is compounded by the apparent loss of part of her text. Dittography and omission seem to occur in the sentence: "Das Verhältnis der Demeter zum Demophon gemacht (SQ 25), was den Versuch einer Synthese der eleusinischen kommt auf der Suche nach ihrer Tochter unerkannt zum Königspalast, wird freundlich aufgenommen und als Amme für den kleinen Triptolemos engagiert, den sie unsterblich zu machen versucht."

[8] *Hymn*, p. 195, followed apparently by Parker, p. 9, n. 34.

[9] *Hymn*, p. 195. The document: Sokolowski, *LSCG, Supp.*, 10, line 69.

[10] See above, p. 47, n. 81.

[11] The name is inscribed on the Stanford krater; Raubitschek 'Mission', p. 116.

For the identification of Θρεπτός with Demophon see R.F. Healey, *Eleusinian Sacrifices in the Athenian Law Code*, diss. Harvard, 1962, pp. 117–120, and summary, *HSCP* 66, 1962, pp. 256–259. I once followed Richardson's hypothesis that Θρεπτός was Triptolemos, *AJP* 100, 1979, p. 5, n. 17, on the mistaken assumption that evidence existed for it; in default of evidence it must be abandoned. Sfameni Gasparro, pp. 159–161, again without evidence, follows this hypothesis, and finally imputes to Panyassis the version found in Hyginus, without any firm basis (see above, n. 4).

Eleusinian Thesmophoria; and that would reinforce the possibile connection of Θρεπτός (god in cult) and Demophon (mythic analogue). But since we know nothing more about the significance of Θρεπτός to the Eumolpidae, it seems best to leave him in peace.

Richardson's primary argument, followed by Sfameni Gasparro, implies that the visual tradition shows Triptolemos becoming young enough to be Demeter's nursling.[12] Although many scenes show Demeter sending him off, and she must by that very act be his protector in a certain sense, no Attic work of art shows him as a nursling or a boy. Like other gods,[13] he appears more youthful in red-figure painting than in black-figure, but he is, nonetheless, always the same size as Demeter and Kore, i.e. a young adult. Schwarz in her discussion of the Great Relief does not refer to any example of Triptolemos as boy, though in her treatment of individual vases she refers to him as a *Knabe* (if I have reckoned correctly) four times.[14] In the first example (V 101), a stamnos of Polygnotos in Florence,[15] Triptolemos is just as tall as Demeter or Kore: he cannot be a *Knabe*. In the second (V 134), a pelike in the Kerch style (*Fig. 20*), it is true that Triptolemos is drawn significantly smaller than Demeter or Kore, but there is a reason, obvious enough from the scale of his vehicle, the wheel of which is only a bit larger than Kore's head. Triptolemos and his winged chariot are *both* rendered in a smaller scale than any of the other figures because he is floating in the air in the background; he gives the impression of being at some distance from the foreground figures. Furthermore, there was obviously not enough space to put him above the heads of Demeter and Kore and render him and his chariot full-scale, nor would such an arrangement reflect favorably on Demeter and Kore, who would then be dwarfed by a Triptolemos towering above them. The third and fourth examples (V 150 and 154),[16] are quite similar. In each case both Triptolemos and his chariot are rendered on a smaller scale and put in the background, floating behind Kore's (or Demeter's) head; he and his wagon are to be imagined as being at some distance, about to soar away. None of these examples can be used as evidence for representation of Triptolemos as a child or nursling in Attic art.

A more apposite example might be the Triptolemos on a red-figure hydria in Vienna.[17] Although Schwarz does not refer to him as a *Knabe*, it is easy to see how his youthful appearance and pose could lead a modern viewer into mistaking him to be a boy. Sitting in his winged chariot, with his feet high above the ground and the top of his head lower than that of the goddesses, he gives the illusion of being rather small. However, when one takes into account the length of his limbs, it is clear that if he were standing, his head would be at the same level as it is in his present sitting position. In addition, the diadems and hair style of Demeter and Kore make them seem to be taller than they are; if we adjust for these features, Triptolemos can be seen to be virtually as tall as the goddesses. There can be no doubt, on reflection, that this Triptolemos, though youthful, is represented as an adult.

The question of height in Attic vase painting as a criterion of age is discussed further in the following appendix.

---

[12] Sfameni Gasparro, p. 161.

[13] E.g. Eubouleus, Iakchos, Dionysus, Apollo.

[14] *Triptolemos*, p. 128 (V 101), p. 147 (V 134), and (by implication) p. 165 (V 150) and p. 245 (V 154).

[15] Museo Archeologico 75748. Photograph: Dugas, pl. XXXIII.

[16] V 150: Lekythos from Kerch, Paris, Louvre CA 2190; Kerényi, p. 168, fig. 54. V 154: Hydria, Bern, Abbeg-Stiftung, see below, p. 138, Eumolpus, Painting, No. 5, *Figs. 22–23*.

[17] Kunsthistorisches Museum, IV 580; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, p. 124, V 88; photograph in exhibition catalog of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, *Alltag · Feste · Religion: Antikes Leben auf griechischen Vasen*, Vienna 1991, p. 103, no. 50.

Appendix 2

The Age of Ploutos

Ploutos is several years old, to judge from his size, in all vase paintings except the hydria from Rhodes (Catalog, Painting, No. 3) and the phiale by Douris (No. 1). He is tallest on the lekanis cover in Athens (No. 5), in fact nearly as tall as the boy in the Great Eleusinian Relief. It would be folly of course to analyze the scenes as if they were photographs. These paintings, as C. Sourvinou-Inwood has made abundantly clear, normally express only *categories* of age, through the use of certain age-signs, such as difference in height, proportion of head-size to overall height, and convexity of the torso.[1] Thus the smaller height of Ploutos in relation to Demeter and Kore in our vase paintings merely indicates that he is younger, i.e. an older "boy" as opposed to an adult. Sourvinou-Inwood's remarks about the proportion of head to total height are particularly relevant to our analysis of the age of Ploutos:

> The head of young children of about three and a little under such as those represented on choes forms from about one fourth of their height to the usual about one fifth. In the case of older children the head forms a little under one sixth or less of their height. It can be as low as one seventh. But the picture is not consistent, variations do not appear to relate precisely to age, for there seem to be "bands" of ages within each of which children are depicted within the same margins of divergence—rather than consistent correspondences between age and proportions. And the borders between the bands are not very precise. The norm for adult women in fifth century ceramic iconography is that their head is between one seventh and less than one eighth of their overall height. There are variations in this, but they are not radical, and in the downward direction (i.e. in that of the larger head) they do not go much below the norm mentioned here.[2]

The measurable ratios of head-height to total height in the ceramic representations of Ploutos standing are as follows:

No. 2: 1/6.625
No. 4: 1/6 (from the drawing)
No. 5: 1/6.86
No. 7: 1/5.5.

These ratios, taken from fourth-century painting, are consistent with what Sourvinou-Inwood noticed in fifth-century examples: there is some variation but the general impression is that the artists were rendering an older boy. This of course is consistent with what we deduced above in reading the Great Eleusinian Relief anachronously, as if it were a photograph (in the absence of a comparable list of ratios for sculpture), viz. that the boy is at most 11 or 12 years old.[3]

---

[1] C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls' Transitions: Aspects of the Arkteia and Age Representations in Attic Iconography*, Athens 1988, pp. 33–39.

[2] Sourvinou-Inwood (above, n. 1), p. 37.

[3] With regard to sculpture, Sourvinou-Inwood (above, n. 1), p. 84, n. 150, observes: "Sometimes, though not always, sculptural representations have different sets of proportions, but the relative relationships between age and and proportions remains valid." In the Great Eleusinian Relief, however, the sculptor did not use this proportion to indicate relative age; the head-to-total-height proportion is almost the same for all three figures.

Ploutos on the hydria from Rhodes (Catalog, Painting, No. 3) is an infant. The scene is extraordinary among fourth-century representations of Ploutos; it may have been influenced by scenes of the presentation of Dionysos. For further discussion see above, p. 92.

The scene on the interior of the phiale by Douris (Catalog, Painting, No. 1) shows an infant, probably Ploutos, on Kore's lap, but the scene is not related to the Mysteries.

The Agora reliefs of the late fourth century (Catalog, Sculpture, Nos. 2 and 3; *Figs. 9–10*) would also seem to relate somehow to his birth in that they depict Eubouleus carrying the infant; these are our only Eleusinian examples of the infant Ploutos on a god's arm. The artists probably adopted this motif from Cephisodotus' famous statue of Eirene, who carries the infant Ploutos in this position.[4] In the Lakrateides relief of *ca.* 100 B.C. Ploutos has reverted to his more typical standing position.

---

[4] Above, p. 57.

Appendix 3

Plouton and Hades in Art

I. Iconography

The observation (above, pp. 62–63) that in iconography Plouton was normally distinguished from Hades requires discussion, more so, I am afraid, than space permits, but I hope that what is provided here will at least be enough to show what has led me to make the observation.

The practice of calling Hades Plouton, which was common in the Classical period and later, might lead us to expect that the god would be represented with attributes reflecting both his domains, namely agrarian abundance and kingship in the world of the dead. But only very rarely can we point to scenes which show the King of the Underworld with an agrarian attribute. Not surprisingly these rare examples occur in the works of vase painters, who were usually less inhibited about creating new religious imagery than some other types of artists. Sculptural images of gods, for example, were often destined to be set up in or by a sanctuary, where tradition tended to impose certain limits on the iconography.

It is usually not difficult to distinguish Plouton from Hades in art, especially if a context is given; but when a context is missing or unclear, an attribute (e.g., a scepter) is sometimes not sufficient to allow certain identification. Plouton is a mature man, sometimes even of advanced years with white hair; a scepter is his most common attribute; frequently he also holds a full or overflowing cornucopia; and he is often associated with *both* Demeter and Kore or sometimes either, but if with only one of them, it is usually Kore. In Attic art he usually does not appear semi-naked (i.e. chest entirely or partly bare), and he is always standing. Hades, on the other hand, while he often has a scepter, does not carry agrarian attributes, such as grainstalks or cornucopia (with the possible exception of No. 44); the horn he sometimes holds is empty and serves as a drinking horn. He is often (entirely or partly) bare-chested and, except in Heracles scenes, is frequently either seated or lying on a couch, with Persephone facing him. The distinction between the two gods can be seen most conveniently on the Lakrateides Relief (*Fig. 5*), where Plouton is standing, fully draped, but Theos (Hades) is bare-chested and sitting on his throne; both hold a scepter.

Some of these features, however, do not by themselves guarantee an identification. Bare-chestedness, often a feature of Hades, sometimes appears also in depictions of Plouton. On Panathenaic vases of the year of Philokles (392/1) the columns that flank Athena display a bare-chested male figure with a horn of plenty in his left hand, a scepter or phiale in his right.[1] There can hardly be any doubt that the figure is Plouton. Eschbach notes a similar figure in a statue from the Piraeus (now in Dresden) and another from Kallipolis (now in Delphi).[2] (For the original he suggests, quite hypo-

[1] Eschbach, *Statuen*, pp. 18–26, figs. 9–12, pls. 5–6.
[2] Eschbach, *Statuen*, pl. 7.1–2.

thetically, the statue of Plouton in the sanctuary of the Semnai by the Acropolis.[3]) Since the cornucopia on the Panathenaic vases is almost always empty, we should not put too much weight on the fullness or emptiness of the horn in the examples that are closer to Eleusis. A rather similar figure to the one on the Panathenaics appears on Side B of a red-figure amphora at Harvard (below, No. 38, *Fig. 66*); he ought therefore to be Plouton.

In some scenes, however, Hades is fully draped, and this sometimes occurs when he is depicted as the Eleusinian Theos.

A red-figure footed dinos in the J. Paul Getty Museum, attributed to the Syleus Painter, deserves special attention, because it is the only vase to exhibit Theos with an inscription.[4] The principal scene (*Figs. 43–46*), extending about four fifths of the way around the vase, is the departure of Triptolemos, with Demeter on the left and Kore (inscribed [Φε]ρ[ε]φάτα) on the right. Behind Demeter are Hippothon,[5] eponymous hero of the tribe Hippothontis, and Eleusis (both with inscriptions) and an unknown man (completely wrapped in a himation); behind Kore stands Kalamites (K<α>λαμ[τε[ς]),[6] eponymous hero of the festival of Kalamaia, which was held in the spring in Eleusis, at the time of the mature grainstalks.[7] Two figures (*Fig. 47*) face away from this group, on the other "side" of the vase:[8] Theos (inscription),[9] holding a scepter in his left hand and a phiale in his right, and a woman holding a pitcher and offering him a libation. Both Theos and the woman have distinctive dress; he wears a himation over a spangled tunic with a decorated hem; the woman's chiton and broad-hemmed himation have rather formal, Archaic folds, and a swallowtail flows down on the right from the himation. She surely is of equal status, and must be Thea. This scene with its inscription is of the greatest importance in that it provides a basis for interpreting similar pairs in Eleusinian scenes. So are we surely to understand the pair in No. 35, on a volute krater in Karlsruhe by the Berlin Painter (*Fig. 48*). Here

---

[3] Paus. 1.28.6; cf. above, Chap. 2, p. 44.

[4] Inv. No. 89.AE.73; preliminary notice and photograph, *GettyMusJ* 18, 1990, p. 167, no. 5; the attribution was made by J.R. Guy. I am very grateful to Marion True, who is about to publish the vase, for allowing me to study it in June, 1991, to discuss it here, and to include the Museum's excellent photographs. The following descriptions of the inscriptions are based on my own observations.

[5] Inscription: ιυιπποθον. Theta, with some paint in its lower half, is more likely than pi. Iconography of Hippothon: Kron, *Phylenheroen*, pp. 177–187; *eadem*, *LIMC*, Hippothoon. The shrine of the hero was located in or near Eleusis; Pausanias, 1.38.4, mentions it before describing the Eleusinian Cephisus; cf. Kron, *Phylenheroen*, p. 181.

[6] So I would read the inscription ΚΛΑΜΙΤΕ; the painter simply omitted an alpha, an easy mistake. (The restoration [Α]ΚΛΑΜΙΤΕ[Σ], which appears in the preliminary notice, does not produce a recognizable name.) The lettering, which runs vertically from top to bottom, shows confusion. After kappa an Ionic lambda appears, perhaps the result of confusing alpha and lambda (the painter otherwise prefers Attic lambda but sometimes uses the Ionic form), and then the rest of the word is written retrograde; the following alpha is legless (like alpha S2 in H. Immerwahr, *Attic Script: A Survey*, Oxford 1990, p. xxii). With three very similar letters in a row it is not surprising that one was omitted. In the inscription 'Ελευσίς the upsilon looks very much like the lambda.

The hero is attested in Demosthenes, *De Corona*, 129, where Aeschines' mother is described as τοῖς μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις ἐν τῷ κλεισίῳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Καλαμίτῃ ἥρῳ χρωμένη, and in a Patmos scholion to Demosthenes (*BCH* 1, 1877, p. 142): ἥρως οὗτος Ἀθήνησι τιμώμενος ἦτοι ἐξ ἐπωνυμίας ἢ ὅσῳ καλάμων παραστεφυκότων <τῷ> ἱερῷ· τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ ἐστι πρὸς τῷ Ληναίῳ. Cf. *RE* s.v. Kalamites. The festival gave its name to the month Kalamaion, attested for Ceos, Cyzicus, Miletus, Olbia, Priene, and (as Kalamaios) Perinthus; see A.E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, I, 7), Munich 1972, pp. 88 (Perinthus), 103 (Ceos), 115–119.

[7] For the festival see Deubner, *Feste*, pp. 67–68.

[8] With no demarcation in the figured zone there are of course no actual sides. The center between Theos and Thea corresponds roughly to a point between Demeter and Triptolemos.

[9] The inscription Θεός appears just above his scepter; a slightly larger space occurs between epsilon and omicron than otherwise in this word, but the reading is not in doubt.

Thea holds both pitcher and phiale; her himation, though damaged, has similar folds to those on the Thea in Malibu, but this time the swallowtail hangs from the other arm and appears in front of the goddess. Theos wears a spangled chiton and tunic and holds a scepter in his right hand. J. Thimme, who published the vase, interpreted the figures, rightly enough, as Persephone and Hades-Plouton, and recognized that at Eleusis these gods were called, in their "underworld aspect," Theos and Thea.[10] We should adhere rigorously to the Eleusinian names.

Plouton and Hades in LIMC

The popular confusion in antiquity between Plouton and Hades has had a long and venerable *Nachleben*, which lives on in *LIMC*.[11] In *LIMC* there is only a single entry, viz. "Hades", under which, in the description of a work of art, the god is referred to as either "Hades-Plouton" or "Hades". Plouton does not receive a separate entry; the entry "Pluto" appended to "Hades" pertains only to the Roman god.

In what follows I list each (certain or fairly certain) entry in *LIMC*, s.v. Hades, as either Plouton or Hades (the numbering is that of *LIMC*), in order to show that in the vast majority of instances it is possible to distinguish these gods iconographically. My main interest of course is in Attic art. Therefore non-Attic works are generally excluded, the main exception being some sculptures, which I include for the sake of comparison. Also excluded are scenes of the abduction of Kore where it may safely be assumed that the artist is thinking of Hades as he is represented in the epic tradition. The iconography of Sarapis, a Hellenistic creation, with elements borrowed from both Plouton and Hades, is of course not relevant to this inquiry and is not included in the list. It is, however, important, because it demonstrates that the Greeks *could* mix attributes of these two gods if that suited their conception of the god. In the case of Hades and Plouton it did not.

LIMC

1. Plouton (with Demeter and Kore). Statue described by Paus. 2.18.3 ("Plouton"). *LIMC*: "H.-Pluton".

2. Plouton (with Semnai Theai, Hermes, Ge). Statue described by Paus. 1.28.6 ("Plouton"). *LIMC*: "H.-Pluton".

4. Hades (with Cerberus). Statue described by Plut. *de Is. et Os.* 361f–362b ("Plouton" with quote from Heracleitus about Hades) *et al.* *LIMC*: "Hades".

5. Plouton (probably). Statue, Cos (Archaeological Museum). P. standing, fully clothed, attribute missing. From a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, where no doubt Plouton was also worshipped. *LIMC*: "Hades".

6. Hades. Statue, Syracuse (Museo Regionale 21686). H. standing, bare-chested, with Cerberus.

7. Hades. Acrolithic statue, Cyrene (Museum 2160 E 780). H., seated, with Cerberus.

14. Hades. Cup, London (BM B 425). H. standing, with Zeus and Poseidon. *ABV*, p. 184. *LIMC*: "Hades".

15. Hades. Coin, Mytilene. H. with Zeus and Poseidon. *LIMC*: "Hades".

16. Plouton (?). Stamnos, Paris (Louvre G 370). P. standing, fully draped, with empty horn. Zeus, Apollo, Hera, Hermes, Poseidon, Athena, Plouton, and (apparently) Kore. *ARV*^{2}, p. 639, no. 54. *LIMC*: "H.-Pluton".

17. Plouton (?). Stamnos, Bochum (Ruhruniversität. S 258). P.(?) standing, fully draped, with horn (the horn may be full but it is unclear); with other gods, all but Dionysus unclear. *ARV*^{2}, p. 484, no. 18.

18. Hades (called "Plouton"). Chryselephantine table by Colotes, described by Paus. 5.20.3: H. holds the key to Hades; array of figures: Hera, Zeus, Meter, Hermes, Apollo, Artemis, Asclepius, Hygeia, Hades ("Plouton"), Dionysus, Persephone and Nymphs.

---

[10] 'Ein neu erworbener Volutenkrater des Berliner-Malers', *JBadWürtt* 6, 1969, pp. 7–16, esp. 12.

[11] R. Lindner, *LIMC*, s.v. Hades, with contributions from S-C. Dahlinger and N. Yalouris.

19. Probably Plouton. Relief, Rome (Palazzo del Drago): P. standing, bare-chested, holding empty horn in his right hand, a phiale in his left; the identity of the goddess on his right is uncertain but may be Kore; next on the right appear Poseidon and Amphitrite; Zeus sits to the left of Plouton. *LIMC*: "Hades".

19a. Hades or Plouton. Three-sided candelabra base, Rome (Vatican, formerly Lateran 9967). Standing figure, bare-chested, cornucopia in left hand; Poseidon and a goddess on the other sides of the base. *LIMC*: "H.-Pluton".

20. Plouton. Amphora (from Nola), Paris (Louvre G 209). P. standing, fully draped, with scepter and full horn, crown (of myrtle), being offered a libation by Kore, who holds a pitcher and phiale. Discussion below, p. 111. *ARV*², p. 648, no. 25. *LIMC*: "Hades".

21. Theos (Hades). RF amphora, Eleusis. Theos sitting, right shoulder bare, scepter in left hand, phiale in right, Thea (Persephone) pouring liquid into his phiale. For the identification of Theos and Thea see discussion above, p. 106, of the vase in Malibu; the pose here, however, is closer to that of the Lakrateides Relief, below, No. 48 (*Fig. 5*). *LIMC*: "Hades".

22. Hades. Lekythos, Berlin (Staatlische Museen 3276). H. sitting, bare-chested, scepter in left hand, phiale in right; Persephone stands in front of him, holding a torch. *ARV*², p. 750. *LIMC*: "Hades".

23. Probably Hades. Lekythos, Athens (NM 1301). H. (?) standing, fully draped, scepter in right hand, white hair and beard; Persephone faces him, holding a torch in her right hand. Cf. discussion below, p. 111. *LIMC*: "Hades".

24. Theos (Hades). Stamnos (from Orvieto), Florence. *Fig. 36*. T. standing, fully draped, with scepter. See below, Catalog, Eubouleus in Vase Painting, No. 10. *LIMC*: "Hades".

25. Plouton. Pelike, Athens (NM 16346). P. standing, fully draped, with overflowing horn, wreath (of myrtle); Demeter opposite, with scepter and plow. *ARV*², p. 1113, no. 11. *LIMC*: "Hades".

26. Plouton (probably). Stamnos, Paris (Louvre G 187). P. standing between two altars, fully draped, with phiale in his right hand, scepter in his left, with Demeter (right) and Kore (left). Discussion below, p. 111. *ARV*², p. 361, no. 2; *Add.*². *LIMC*: "Hades".

26a. Plouton (evidently). Stamnos, Florence (Museo Archeologico 80.190). P. standing, right shoulder bare, phiale in his left hand; between two women who do not show the attributes of Demeter and Kore (but Side A shows a Triptolemos scene). Discussion below, p. 111. *ARV*², p. 1036, no. 6. *LIMC*: "Hades (?)".

26b. Plouton (evidently). Amphora, Cannes, private collection. P. standing, fully draped, scepter in right hand; scene similar to preceding (Side A: Triptolemos scene). Discussion below, p. 111. *ARV*², p. 1031, no. 37. *LIMC*: "Hades(?)".

28. Plouton (inscribed "Plouton"). Fragmentary phiale mesomphalos by Douris, Malibu (Getty Museum 85.AE.18.1–9, etc.) P. seated, with only his head preserved: group of seated gods, including Demeter and Kore (inscribed K]OPE[but called "Persephone" in *LIMC*) with child on lap. See discussion below, Catalog, Eleusinian Ploutos, Vase Painting, No. 1. *LIMC*: "Pluton".

29. Plouton (inscription).[12] Amphora, Trachones, now Piraeus. Standing, fully draped, white hair and beard, scepter in right hand, overflowing horn of plenty. *Figs. 67–68*. *ARV*², p. 1154, no. 38bis. *LIMC*: "H.-Pluton".

31. Zeus Chthonios or Plouton. Pillar Relief, Corinth (Museum S 74–27). Standing, chest mostly bare, phiale in right hand, horn of plenty in left.

34. *LIMC*: "Hades". BF amphora, Würzburg (Wagner-Museum L 197). The seated figure in the Triptolemos scene is most likely not Hades

[12] On November 20, 1990 I was able to examine this vase in the Piraeus Museum through the kindness of M. Zapheiropoulou and S. Kalliodi of the Second Ephoreia. The inscription, beginning just to the right of the top of Plouton's head, reads: Π[Λ]ΟΥΤΩΝ. The other inscription reads: Φ[Ε]ΡΡΕΦΑΤΤΑ. The inscription for Demeter may have occurred in an area which is no longer preserved.

but an Eleusinian king; Keleos would be a good possibility.

35. Theos (Hades). Volute crater, Karlsruhe (Badisches Landesmuseum 68.101). T. standing, fully draped, scepter in right hand, facing Thea, who holds a pitcher and phiale (Side A: Triptolemos scene). See discussion above, pp. 106–107. *Fig. 48. Para.* p. 344, no. 131bis; *Add.*^{2}, p. 194: Berlin Painter. *LIMC*: "H.-Pluton".

36. Plouton (probably). Stamnos, Paris (Louvre C 10798). P. standing, fully draped, scepter in left hand, horn of plenty in right (the top of the horn is not preserved). *ARV*^{2}, p. 208, no. 159: Berlin Painter. *LIMC*: "H.-Pluton".

37. *LIMC*: "H.-Pluton". Amphora, London (BM 95.10–31.1). White-haired man standing, with scepter, in a Triptolemos scene; he is probably Keleos. *ARV*^{2}, p. 583, no. 1. Cf. Schauenburg, 'Pluton und Dionysus', p. 51, note 68: "nicht sicher Hades gemeint...." Dugas, pp. 127–128, interprets an enthroned figure in a Triptolemos scene on a cup in Frankfurt as Keleos.

38. Plouton. Amphora, Cambridge, Mass. (Sackler Museum 1959.187). Plouton standing, scepter in right hand, chest mostly bare, empty horn of plenty in left hand. For the interpretation see above, p. 106. *Fig. 66. ARV*^{2}, p. 1059, no. 126. See also above, p. 44. *LIMC*: "H.-Pluton".

39. Plouton. Hydria, London (BM E 183). P. standing, white-haired, fully draped, scepter in his left hand, overflowing horn of plenty in his right; to the left of a Triptolemos scene. *Figs. 74–76.* Discussion below, pp. 112–113. *ARV*^{2}, p. 1191, no. 1. *LIMC*: "H.-Pluton".

40. [Plouton]. Votive Tablet, Eleusis. Only the tip of a horn of plenty is visible, but it seems too high up to belong to Ploutos, and it is unlikely that Ploutos appeared on the arm of Eubouleus in this scene. Below, Catalog, Eubouleus, Fourth-Century Vase Painting, No. 6. *Fig. 71. LIMC*: "H.-Pluton".

41. Plouton (inscription). Lakrateides Relief, Eleusis. P. standing, (apparently) fully draped, scepter in his left hand, right hand not preserved. Hades, here called Theos, appears in the same relief. *Fig. 5.* Below, Catalog, Eubouleus, Sculpture, No. 3. *LIMC*: "H.-Pluton".

43. Plouton (inscribed "Ploutodotas"). Amphora fragment, Reggio Calabria (Museo Nazionale 4001). P. standing, fully draped, scepter in right hand. Ploutodotas occurs as a designation for Plouton. Discussion, above, p. 42. *ABV*, p. 147, no. 6, p. 714. *LIMC*: apparently Iakchos.

44. Hades (inscribed "Plouton"). Kylix, London (BM E 82). H. reclining on couch, bare-chested, phiale in right hand, empty horn in left; Persephone seated by his feet. The horn, so large that it seems we must regard it as a cornucopia, is probably an innovation of a vase painter (this one or a predecessor), who has enlarged the rhyton of Eleusinian Theos (below, No. 47) into a horn of plenty, influenced probably by the iconography of Plouton and the common equation of Plouton and Hades (see above, pp. 62–63, 105). *ARV*^{2}, p. 1269, no. 3. *LIMC*: "H.-Pluton".

45. Plouton. Relief, Chalkis (Museum 337). P. standing, bare-chested, full horn of plenty in his left hand, probably a scepter in his right. See Catalog, Iakchos, Sculpture, No. [4]; discussion, above, p. 64. *LIMC*: "H.-Pluton (?)".

47. Theos (inscription). Lysimachides Relief (from Eleusis), Athens (NM 1519; *LIMC*, Demeter, 385 with pl.). T. reclining on couch, bare-chested, drinking horn in his right hand, phiale in his left; Thea sits by his feet. *Fig. 8.* Discussion above, p. 51. *LIMC*: "Hades als Theos von Eleusis?"

48. Theos (inscription). Lakrateides Relief, Eleusis. T. seated on throne, bare-chested, scepter in his right hand; Thea stands next to him. *Fig. 5.* Discussion above, p. 51. *LIMC*: "Hades als Theos von Eleusis?"

77. Plouton. Amphora, Naples (Museo Nazionale H 3091). Walking after Kore, fully draped, scepter and overflowing horn of plenty in his left hand. *ARV*^{2}, p. 647, no. 21. Discussion, above, p. 62, below, p. 114. *Fig. 72. LIMC*: "Hades".

81. Plouton (?). Hydria, Würzburg (Wagner-Museum L 535). P. (?) mounted on wagon, with Kore (?) beside him, Demeter (?) standing

with torches; scene flanked by statue of Hekate (?), woman at altar. Cf. discussion above, p. 62. *ARV*², p. 1112, no. 3, pp. 1684, 1703; *Add.*², p. 330; *LIMC*, Demeter, 311 with pl. *LIMC*: "Deutung nicht gesichert."

121. Hades. Amphora, Munich (Antikensammlung 1549). Underworld scene: H. seated, white hair, apparently fully draped, scepter in his right hand; Persephone holding stalks of wheat; Sisyphus. *ABV*, p. 383, no. 12. *LIMC*: "Hades".

129. Hades. Relief (from Taranto), Munich (Glyptothek 494). Underworld scene: H. seated, bare-chested; Persephone seated to the left; Danaids and Pithos. *LIMC*: "Hades".

137. Hades. Amphora, Vatican (Museo 374). Underworld scene: H. standing, right side of chest bare, white hair, scepter in his right hand; Heracles and Cerberus; Persephone seated. *ABV*, p. 368, no. 107. *LIMC*: "Hades".

138. Hades. Amphora, St. Louis (Washington University Museum 3274). Underworld scene: H. standing, bearded, apparently fully draped, scepter in left hand; Heracles, Hermes, Cerberus, Persephone. *ABV*, p. 328, no. 7. *LIMC*: "Hades".

139. Hades. Amphora, Orvieto (Faina Collection 2748). Underworld scene: H. standing, bearded, fully draped; Hermes, Heracles, Cerberus, Persephone. *ABV*, p. 144, no. 9. *LIMC*: "Hades".

140. Hades. BF hydria, Toledo, Ohio (Museum of Art 50.261). Underworld scene: H. standing, fully draped, scepter in left hand; Persephone, Hermes, Cerberus, Heracles, Athena. *LIMC*: "Hades".

141. Hades. BF hydria, Paris (Louvre CP 10676). Underworld scene: H. standing, bald (?), right side of chest bare, scepter in left hand; Hermes, Cerberus, Heracles, Athena. *LIMC*: "Hades".

142. Hades. Amphora, Brussels (Musées Royaux R 300). Underworld scene: H. standing, red beard, fully draped, scepter in left hand; Persephone, Heracles, Cerberus, Hermes. *ABV*, p. 288, no. 9. *LIMC*: "Hades".

143. Hades. Hydria, Amiens (Mus. de Picardie 3057.225.47a). Underworld scene: H. white-haired, standing, fully draped, both hands raised, a scepter in his left; Heracles, Athena, Cerberus, Hermes. *ABV*, p. 384, no. 25. *LIMC*: "Hades".

144. Hades. Kylix, Altenburg (Staatliches Lindenau-Museum 233). Underworld scene: H. standing, right shoulder and (apparently) right side of chest bare, scepter in left hand; Persephone, Athena, Cerberus, Heracles. *ARV*², p. 137, no. 1. *LIMC*: "Hades".

145. Hades. BF skyphos, Amsterdam (Allard Pierson Museum). Underworld scene: H. standing, upper body not preserved; Cerberus, Heracles. *LIMC*: "Hades".

146. Hades. BF hydria, Würzburg (Wagner-Museum L 308). Underworld scene: H. seated, scepter in right hand, fully draped; Persephone, Iolaus, Cerberus, Heracles, Hermes, Athena. *LIMC*: "Hades".

147. Hades. Amphora, New York (MMA 41.162.178). Underworld scene: H. seated, fully draped, scepter in left hand; Cerberus, Heracles. *ARV*², p. 509, no. 155. *LIMC*: "Hades".

147a. Hades. Skyphos, Würzburg (Wagner-Museum K 1802). Underworld scene: H. seated, crowned, with red beard. Unpublished. *LIMC*: "Hades".

148. Hades. Amphora, London (BM B 261). Underworld scene: H. seated, white hair, right shoulder apparently bare, scepter in left hand; Hermes, Persephone with grainstalks, Sisyphus. *ABV*, p. 373, no. 176. *LIMC*: "Hades".

151. Hades (inscribed ΑΙΔΕΣ, three-barred sigma). Calyx crater, New York (MMA 08.258.21). Underworld scene: H. standing, fully draped, scepter in left hand; Peirithous, Theseus, Heracles, Hermes. *ARV*², p. 1086, no. 1. *LIMC*: "Hades".

161. Hades. Frieze relief from grave monument, Ialysos, Rhodes. Underworld scene: H. seated on throne, bare-chested, scepter in right hand, left hand resting on his temple. *LIMC*: "Hades".

To this list may be added *LIMC*,

Athena, 452. Plouton. Stamnos, Paris (Louvre G 370). P. standing, bearded and fully draped, cornucopia in his left hand. *ARV*², p. 639, no. 54. *LIMC*: "Ploutos".

II. Plouton in Eleusinian Scenes

Plouton, the upper-world god of agrarian fertility and abundance, stands in several Eleusinian scenes serenely, in the company of Demeter and Kore. Here he is not the fearsome abductor of Kore: the goddesses show no fright, and often, in fact, make gestures of homage toward him.

(1) The left side of the Lakrateides Relief (*Fig. 5*) is a good example. Demeter, Kore, Plouton, and Triptolemos, together with Ploutos, make up the lefthand group, i.e. the group of upper-world gods. Kore, Plouton, and Triptolemos all face Demeter. (2) A somewhat similar group appears on a fragmentary Eleusinian pinax (No. 40; Catalog, Eubouleus in Vase Painting, No. 6; *Fig. 71*): Plouton (only his cornucopia is preserved), Kore, Demeter, Eubouleus (legs only), Triptolemos. Plouton, Kore, and Demeter look to the right, but at what is unclear. (3) On the belly amphora from Trachones (No. 29; *Figs. 67–68*) Plouton stands in the center, Demeter on the left, Kore on the right; Plouton and Kore look toward Demeter. (4) On a neck amphora in the Louvre (No. 20), a woman with phiale and pitcher stands before a man, again with a scepter in his right hand, but here the cornucopia in his left leaves no doubt about his identity. This scene of Kore and Plouton mirrors the scene of Theos and Thea on the volute krater in Karlsruhe (No. 35, *Fig. 48*) and the unpublished vase in Malibu (above, p. 106, *Fig. 47*). (5) On a neck amphora (No. 26b), opposite a Triptolemos scene with Demeter and Kore, Polygnotus painted a bearded male with scepter facing a woman on the left with a phiale and flanked by a woman on the right with a pitcher, again probably the same triad—Demeter, Kore, and Plouton. (6) A similar arrangement prevails on a stamnos in Florence (No. 26a): Triptolemos scene on one side, on the other a bearded male with scepter flanked by two women, the one on the left holding a phiale. (7) Opposite the Triptolemos scene on the name vase of the Triptolemos Painter (No. 26, stamnos in the Louvre) a bearded male with phiale and scepter stands between the blazing altars of Demeter and Kore; Kore with her torches stands over the altar on the left, and Demeter pours a libation on the altar on the right; the central figure can hardly be anyone but Plouton; he and Demeter face each other. (On a lekythos in Athens [No. 23] it is presumably Kore who stands with a torch facing a white-haired man with a scepter, either Plouton or Hades; the fact that the scene occurs on a lekythos tends to favor Hades, but it might be unwise to preclude Plouton.)

What is especially interesting in all these scenes is the harmonious co-existence of Kore with Plouton in an upper-world setting. Literary accounts, such as the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, do not lead us to expect this. According to them the upper world is where Kore was abducted by Hades, and when Kore returns from Hades, he remains below. Three of these scenes (**1, 2,** and BM E 183, discussed below, part III) include Triptolemos; others (**5, 6, 7**) occur on the same vase as a Triptolemos scene. The Triptolemos scenes represent a mythic event; the inclusion of Kore and Plouton in them, of course, suggests that these two gods are also taking part in the event; and this event inasmuch as it involved the departure of Triptolemos, occurred after Kore's return from the Underworld. Yet the preserved myths of Kore's return do not prepare us for this event, and one must wonder how the myth proceeded at this point. Whatever shape it took, it apparently does not affect the cult myth of the Mysteries, for in the cult myth Plouton seems to play no role (see Chapter 3). But the cult myth of course was imagined as belonging to a larger story. We seem to see part of this larger story in these scenes with Plouton and Kore, i.e. a final episode that was not dramatized in the cult, an episode in which the god and goddess coexist harmoniousy after Kore's return. It seems therefore that we should conclude that *both* Theos and Thea return, in some sense, from Hades, and as Plouton and Kore they now reign on earth with Demeter, harmoniously, inasmuch as Kore is no longer separated from her mother. This answer must serve, if only tentatively, in the absence of guidance from literary sources.

This also raises the question of the "theology" of the pairs Kore-Plouton and Thea-Theos. Did worshippers at Eleusis think of them as co-existing, one pair on earth, the other below? So it would seem. The Lakrateides Relief (*Fig. 5*) shows both pairs simultaneously, the Lysimachides Relief (*Fig. 8*) Kore and Thea simultaneously; but the artist in each case may have intended a temporal progression, from the Underworld in the scene on the right to the upper world on the left. *IG* I³ 79, on the other hand, permits no ambiguity; it calls for separate sacrifices to Kore, Thea, and Theos.[13] In this case Kore and Thea were believed to coexist. (Plouton is absent, presumably because he is not a major figure in the Mysteries proper, and as we saw in Chapter 3, does not play a role in the cult myth.[14]) It seems that we should conclude from this coexistence that the Return of Kore, in the context of the Mysteries, may not have been perceived as a seasonal event in the agrarian year, as it was at the end of the *Homeric Hymn*. The Mysteries re-enact, recelebrate *the* Return that took place in mythic time. But now, in real time, outside the drama in the cult, Kore and Thea, Plouton and Theos, somehow coexist, each pair in their separate realm.

III. Hydria in London (British Museum E 183)

A hydria in the British Museum (E 183; above, No. 39; *Figs. 74–76*) exhibits Plouton, Kore, and Demeter in a carefully balanced composition, this time with Triptolemos at the center: his wheeled and winged seat hovers just above the ground, as Demeter (inscription), on the right, pours a libation into his phiale, and Kore, on the left, reaches for a torch held by a woman behind her. Both Demeter and Kore wear an identical garment (peplos with solid border) and identical crown, and carry a scepter in their left hand; Triptolemos too holds his scepter in his left hand.[15] Framing Demeter and Kore, on either side, is a torch-bearing woman, each painted within the handle: the woman on the right is Hekate (inscription), wearing an unbordered peplos, whereas the woman on the left, about to hand Kore one of her two torches, wears a chiton and himation (the difference in dress probably indicating her status as mortal). The torchbearers are framed in turn (far left and right respectively) by Plouton (white-haired, sceptered, holding a horn of plenty) and by a woman who is running up with a basket. The correspondence of image about the center is so carefully done that Plouton with his agrarian abundance, who corresponds symmetrically to the woman with a basket, ought to match the woman in some significant visual element. The woman's chiton and himation distinguish her from the goddesses. The sense of the correspondence, then, must lie in Plouton's cornucopia and the woman's basket. The basket, accordingly, must have to do with the fruitfulness of the land. The woman's haste suggests that it is to be given to Triptolemos before he departs. One can imagine that it might simply be seed, but seed should be given to Triptolemos by Demeter, in the form of grainstalks. The woman (together with the other woman, who hands the torches to Kore) suggests perhaps a women's cult, such as the Thesmophoria (Hekate too would be appropriate to this festival).[16] If this is correct, the basket may contain the sacred compost, fetched up from the *megara*, to be mixed with the seed in order to ensure abundance (εὐφορία).[17] The abundance that results can be seen on the left, in Plouton's cornucopia. The basket also brings to mind Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* 27.285–286:

> μνώεο Τριπτολέμοιο καὶ εὐαρότου Κελεοῖο,
> μὴ ταλάρους γονόεντας ἀτιμήσῃς Μετα-
> νείρης.

---

[13] Quoted above, p. 56.

[14] Above, pp. 84–85.

[15] The differences between the images of the goddesses are slight: the design on the band of their headress is a bit different; Kore wears her hair in a bun, whereas Demeter's long locks stream down; and each has the peplos arranged a bit differently.

[16] On Hekate and the Thesmophoria, above, pp. 33–34 and Appendix 5.

[17] Schol. Lucian 276.7–8 Rabe.

The woman, then, may well be Metaneira, the contents of her "fruitful basket" sacred compost (perhaps mixed with seed); she rushes to give it to Demeter in time for her to pass it on to Triptolemos. She is going to give to Demeter what belongs to Demeter, just as the Eleusinian woman on the left does for Kore.

If this interpretation is correct, the scene testifies to an association in myth of Triptolemos with the Thesmophoria. This is something that we might, after all, have expected, for Triptolemos is an old Attic agrarian deity and the Thesmophoria a very old agrarian cult. Triptolemos, before he expanded his scope to include the whole world, fertilized the Attic earth, and in what better way than with seed enriched with Demeter's sacred compost? Triptolemos' appearance in the *Homeric Hymn* may also be an echo of the Thesmophoria, inasmuch as the myth in the *Hymn* is basically an aition of this festival.[18]

---

[18] See above, pp. 96–99.

Appendix 4

Theos and Thea

Nilsson identified Theos and Thea as Hades and Persephone.[1] Peschlow-Bindokat discussed the matter again and concluded that they cannot be Hades and Persephone but must be an independent pair of chthonian gods, poorly known to us, a relic from an early period of the cult.[2] Her main argument is based on the joint appearance of Plouton and Theos on the Lakrateides Relief: while double roles of Kore (daughter of Demeter, wife of Hades) are known to us and are understandable, no such duality of role is known to have existed for Plouton. Hence Theos and Plouton are separate and independent gods, and it follows that the same must be true for Thea and Kore. The argument raises an important point, but it ignores the very significant fact that the names Hades and Persephone are not employed at Eleusis.[3] Instead of these well known names we find only Theos and Thea. And the argument misses the fact that these two appear to be major gods at Eleusis. According to the First Fruits Decree, sacrifice is to be offered, after the collection of the First Fruits of the harvest, to the Two Goddesses, Triptolemos, Theos, Thea, Eubouleus, and Athena.[4] In this company Theos and Thea look like major deities. They keep similar company on the Lakrateides Relief (*Fig. 5*).

Her argument also omits the well known observation that originally Hades and Persephone (whose names are of uncertain or pre-Greek origin) were probably not the same as Πλούτων and Κόρη. Hades and Persephone appear in Homer as gods of the Underworld, completely remote from the agrarian realm of Kore and the wealth of the harvest.[5] The contrast between Hades, as he appears in Homer, and Plouton, as he first appears in art in the fifth century, could hardly be more striking and seems to justify Nilsson's belief that "Pluton ist erst als Räuber der Kore zum Unterweltsgott geworden."[6] The agrarian aspect of Plouton (as opposed to Hades) as abductor of Kore is nicely depicted in a scene on an amphora by the Oionokles Painter in Naples, *Fig. 71*: Plouton holds a cornucopia and scepter and pursues Kore *on foot*! The King of the Underworld, on the other hand, uses a vehicle fit for royalty.

The iconography of Hades and Plouton, discussed in the preceding appendix, now provides additional support for the identification. The iconography of Plouton is different from that of Hades. But the iconography of Theos on the Lakrateides relief more closely resembles the typical depiction of Hades (bare chest, scepter, throne) than Plouton and reinforces the conclusion that Theos is equivalent to Hades. A regal pair on a volute krater by the Berlin Painter (*Fig. 48*) was identified by its pub-

---

[1] Nilsson, 'Gottheiten', pp. 545, 555–556.

[2] Peschlow-Bindokat, pp. 124–127.

[3] See Clinton, 'Author', p. 44.

[4] *IG* II^3 78, lines 37–40, quoted above, p. 56.

[5] See the discussions of Nilsson and Zuntz cited above, Chap. 2, n. 187.

[6] *GGR* I^3, p. 472.

lisher, J. Thimme, as Hades and Persephone.[7] The identification was convincing, since Side A of the vase showed a Triptolemos scene, and it was natural to suppose that the couple on Side B were also drawn from Eleusinian religion. An unpublished vase in Malibu shows a virtually identical scene (*Fig. 47*), again opposite a Triptolemos scene, and the kingly figure is here identified by an inscription as Θεός.[8]

Peschlow-Bindokat states that Theos and Thea are not referred to in extant Greek literature.[9] This is not so clear. It is interesting that the chorus of initiates in Aristophanes' *Frogs* does not name the Queen of the Underworld but refers to her as Σώτειρα (line 378) and ἡ θεός (line 400). Although this does not constitute absolute proof of a literary reference to Eleusinian Thea, it is, in this Eleusinian setting in the Underworld, strongly suggestive of Eleusinian practice.

On the "theology" of Plouton-Kore and Theos-Thea see the preceding Appendix, Part II.

---

[7] See above, Appendix 3, Part I, pp. 106–107.

[8] See above, Appendix 3, Part I, pp. 106–107.

[9] Her statement, p. 124, that the Lakrateides Relief is the latest attestation of Theos and Thea is incorrect; see *Sacred Officials*, p. 97, and above, Chap. 2, n. 152, for evidence from the second century A.D.

Appendix 5

Hekate at Eleusis

In my article on the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* I noted, among the facts that led me to conclude that its story of the Rape and Return had little to do with the Mysteries, that "nowhere over a span of *ca.* 1000 years does the name Hekate appear at Eleusis."[1] The observation is not new. Nilsson made a similar one nearly sixty years ago: "Aber Hekate hat keinen Platz im eleusinischen Kult, nichts auf sie Bezüglisches ist in Eleusis gefunden."[2]

It is sometimes suggested that there is indeed archaeological evidence for Hekate at Eleusis, viz. the temple of Artemis Propylaia, Artemis being equivalent to Hekate.[3] But this is hardly secure evidence. Pausanias' description indicates that the temple housed both Artemis Propylaia and Poseidon Pater.[4] Hekate would be an odd temple mate for Poseidon. Poseidon and Artemis, in addition, appear side by side in an Eleusinian sacred law, and this probably reflects their companionship in this temple.[5] But, more importantly, there is a fundamental difficulty in simply assuming that Artemis is Hekate. The two goddesses' functions coincided in certain areas, and to the extent that they coincided, the goddesses were sometimes assimilated to each other. It is understandable therefore that assimilation did not always occur. The author of the *Homeric Hymn*, to give a very relevant example, certainly did not think the goddesses were identical; in the poem Artemis is a witness to the Rape (line 424) and distinct from Hekate. In art there are additional important instances where the goddesses are represented separately.[6] Hence, in the absence of positive evidence, it would be premature to assume that Artemis Propylaia at Eleusis was thought of as Hekate.

Some scholars have found the absence of evidence for Hekate at Eleusis of little significance, as if this were a matter as simple as a missing piece of papyrus or stone: the evidence just happens not to have appeared to date, but

---

[1] Clinton, 'Author', p. 45. Brown, p. 47, refers to my statement as if it was determined by my view of the relation of the *Hymn* to Eleusis: "This position is in keeping with Clinton's attempt to minimize the connection between the *Hymn* and the Mysteries." But he has it backwards. This *fact* (among others) *led to* my view about the *Hymn* and the Mysteries.

[2] Nilsson, 'Gottheiten', p. 560, discussing the Ninnion Tablet.

[3] Cf. Richardson, *Hymn*, p. 155.

[4] 1.38.6. And so it has been understood by the excavators, Mylonas, *Eleusis*, pp. 167–168; K. Kourouniotes, *Eleusis, A Guide to the Excavations and the Museum*, Athens 1936, pp. 40–41.

[5] *IG* I³ 5 (= Clinton, *AJP* 100, 1979, pp. 1–4).

[6] Simon, 'Hekate', pp. 276–279. Her view, ibid., pp. 280, 282, that a member of the Kerykes was a priest of Hekate is not quite correct. The priest's title was priest of the Charites and Artemis Epipyrgidia, cults by the entrance to the Acropolis; cf. Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, p. 94; M. Maass, *Die Prohedrie des Dionysostheaters in Athen* (Vestigia, 15), 1972, p. 122. While Artemis Epipyrgidia on the Acropolis was assimilated to Hekate, even called Artemis Hekate, there is no indication that her priest had anything to do with a Hekate cult at Eleusis.

once found, it will change the picture dramatically and confirm that Hekate was indeed a major goddess in the Mysteries, with a role comparable to the one she plays in the *Hymn*. The silence about Hekate, therefore, is purely accidental.[7]

The matter, however, is not so simple. If Hekate played a significant role in the Mysteries, she should appear in certain contexts in our extensive documentation.[8] But she does not. We have lists of sacrifices, including the one in the First Fruits Decree which sets forth sacrifices for the major gods (the Two Goddesses, Triptolemos, Eubouleus, Theos and Thea), but she does not appear in any of these lists, even though in some of them rather minor deities are included.[9] We have from the second century A.D. a rather long list of Eleusinian priests and others who receive shares of a special endowment; again some minor deities are represented but not Hekate.[10]

In the Lakrateides Relief, found in the cave precinct of the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα, just where we might expect to find some sign of Hekate, major gods are represented (Ploutos, Demeter, Kore, Triptolemos, Plouton, Thea, Theos, Eubouleus) but not Hekate.[11] Although this precinct was particularly rich in finds, none of them relate to Hekate. In all other works of art found *in the sanctuary* there is not a single allusion to Hekate. Among the many statue bases set up by and for priests of the Mysteries, in none does a priestess of Hekate appear. The silence, therefore, is extraordinarily eloquent. It is safe to say that it is extremely unlikely that we will ever find a piece of evidence at Eleusis that will imply that Hekate had a significant role in the cult of the Mysteries.[12]

Parker, however, claims that "Hekate is certainly prominent in Eleusinian iconography."[13] This claim for prominence is surprising, since Hekate does not appear in any of the major Eleusinian scenes discussed above in Chapters 2 and 3. It is especially striking that she does not appear in any of the programmatic scenes of the cult myth, such as on the Regina Vasorum (*Figs. 17–19*) or the St. Petersburg pelike (*Figs. 20–21*) or in any of the scenes which show Kore recently returned from the Underworld in the company of Eubouleus.

In support of his claim Parker refers to the index of Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, s.v. Hekate. Schwarz discusses (if my reckoning is correct) twelve Attic works of art in which she believes Hekate appears (though one is irrelevant since it is not Eleusinian).[14] At least five of her interpretations are highly unlikely.[15] Another she

---

[7] So Parker, p. 16, n. 22: "... cult of her happens not to be attested."

[8] Cf. Burkert, *Homo Necans*: "There is no lack of documents for the cult of Eleusis; on the contrary, no other local cult in Greece is so richly attested." Of course there are still many lacunas; but it is highly unlikely that a significant goddess would not appear among what we have.

[9] First Fruits Decree: *IG* I³ 78, lines 36–40, discussed above, p. 56. Other examples: *IG* I³ 5 (= *AJP* 100, 1979, pp. 1–12); Sokolowski, *LSS* 10, lines 60–86.

[10] *IG* II² 1092, ed. J.H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 21, 1952, pp. 381–399; see also Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, pp. 35–36.

[11] The relief is discussed above, pp. 51–53.

[12] The role that Brown wishes to assign to her does not imply worship in the cult: see above, p. 87.

[13] Parker, p. 16, n. 22.

[14] Irrelevant: Column-crater by the Alkimachos Painter, Bologna 236, which Beazley, *ARV*², p. 532, no. 44, takes to be a wedding scene; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, p. 89, n. 34.

[15] 1) Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 56, p. 104, interprets in a scene on a kylix in the manner of the Brygos Painter, *ARV*², p. 386, Frankfurt, Liebieghaus STV 7, a woman holding torches and standing between a warrior and Nike as Hekate; but cf. Edwards, p. 317, who more plausibly suggests a princess of Eleusis. 2) On Side A of the "Hera-Schale" in Munich (above, Catalog, Eubouleus, Painting, No. 12; *LIMC*, Demeter, 358 with pl.), she (*Triptolemos*, p. 126) takes the goddess with torches on the right next to Demeter as Hekate, a goddess who looks like Kore; if we accept Schwarz's identification, then the goddess on the left holding a crown must be Kore, which leads to the conclusion that Kore lacks any of the attributes that are so typical of her in Triptolemos scenes (usually a torch or two, rarely a scepter or scepter and torch); but the identification, though unlikely, cannot be absolutely ruled out, for Kore holds just a crown on a stamnos in the Louvre (G 187; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 53; *LIMC*, Demeter, 343). 3) We see this same figure holding a crown on a calyx crater by the Niobid Painter (Fer-

herself considers uncertain.[16] As T. Kraus wisely pointed out, interpreting a torchbearing woman in an Eleusinian context as Hekate cannot, without an inscription, produce a result that inspires much confidence, and he excluded such scenes from consideration in his own study.[17] A warning example is the hydria in London (BM E 183, *Figs. 74–76*) which displays three torchbearing women, one of whom is Hekate (inscription), the other Kore, and the third an unknown, probably an Eleusinian princess or queen. Yet Kraus surely is a bit too exclusive. If Hekate's identity is secured by an inscription, her role in the scene may then allow us to identify her in a similar scene.

Of the remaining five vases discussed by Schwarz one is the important bell crater by the Persephone Painter in New York, discussed in Chapter 1.[18] The scene, rather close to the one near the end of the *Homeric Hymn*, shows Hekate (her name is inscribed) welcoming Kore upon her return to Demeter. As we saw in Chapter 1, this scene is not from the myth of the Mysteries but is nonetheless Eleusinian; it is an episode in a traditional story which would be appropriate as an aition of the Thesmophoria. An abbreviated version of the scene perhaps can be seen on a fourth-century lekythos in Athens, which shows a woman apparently rising from the ground and being greeted by another woman holding two torches; if this is indeed an abbreviated version, the torchbearer ought to be Hekate.[19] A fragmentary calyx crater from the Acropolis by the Berlin Painter seems to show a scene similar to the one on the New York crater.[20]

The interesting Triptolemos scene on the hydria in London (BM E 183; *Figs. 74–76*), which also identifies Hekate with an inscription, was discussed in Appendix 3, Part III, where we saw that the logic of the scene leads us not in the direction of the Mysteries but probably toward ritual at the Thesmophoria.

Another scene again shows Hekate at the departure of Triptolemos, and here too her presence is guaranteed by an inscription. It is a calyx crater by Polygnotos at Duke University; it shows, from left to right, Hekate with a torch, Triptolemos, Kore, and Demeter with a torch and scepter.[21] It may represent simply a rendition of Hekate as πρόπολος and ὀπάων of Kore, her newly acquired status at the end of the *Homeric Hymn*, or it may represent, and this I think a bit more likely, an abbreviation of the scene on the London hydria (BM E 183).

All in all, among the enormous number of Eleusinian scenes in art this is a rather meager showing for a goddess who is supposed to be "prominent" in Eleusinian iconography.[22] Even

---

rara T.313, *ARV*², p. 602, no. 24), where it is clear that in this instance she cannot be Kore. Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, p. 118, takes the torchbearing woman to the left of Triptolemos as Hekate, but again Edwards, p. 316, offers a more credible interpretation: a young princess of Eleusis. 4) On the figure which the Raubitscheks interpreted as Hekate on the volute crater at Stanford University (Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, p. 135) see above, p. 26, n. 26: she is most likely Demeter. 5) On a column crater of the Duomo Painter (Würzburg, Martin von Wagner-Museum L 529, *ARV*², p. 117, no. 5) Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, p. 140, takes the seated woman on the right with torches as Hekate; but sitting is not the right position for Hekate.

[16] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, p. 113, on a woman with torches standing between Triptolemos and Demeter, in a scene on a pelike by the Pan Painter (Ferrara, *ARV*², p. 554, no. 83): she is probably Kore.

[17] Kraus, p. 92.

[18] Above, p. 33.

[19] Metzger, *Recherches*, p. 12, no. 9; Bérard, *Anodoi*, pl. 9, fig. 32.

[20] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 40, pp. 88–89; *ARV*², p. 205, no. 119; Bérard, *Anodoi*, pl. 17, fig. 60; Peschlow-Bindokat, p. 148, calls the interpretation questionable.

[21] Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 104, p. 131, pl. XIII, fig. 24; *Para.*, p. 442, no. 29 bis. Inscription: D. Keith Stanley, Jr., *Library Notes* (Duke University Library), April 1965, p. 9. The inscription can be read in a photograph kindly sent to me by J. Meredith, Associate Curator at the Duke University Art Museum. Raubitschek, p. 115, n. 36, and Schwarz, loc. cit., confused the figures of Hekate and Demeter, but the inscription leaves no doubt.

[22] In addition, Edwards, p. 316, takes a woman with a scepter in a Rape scene on a red-figure skyphos at Eleusis (*ARV*², p. 647, no. 21) to be Hekate, but the scepter urges caution; cf. Lindner, *Raub*, pp. 14–15, no. 7, *LIMC*, Hades, 110, who takes the goddess to be Demeter. Interpretation of a fragmentary lekanis

so, these scenes are not unimportant, for they do show Hekate in two "Eleusinian" contexts. Both contexts apparently belong to mythic traditions that allude to the Thesmophoria.

The scene of Kore returning in the company of Hermes and greeted by Hekate belongs to the traditional story that appears in the *Homeric Hymn*, i.e. a story which is essentially an aition of the Thesmophoria;[23] but Hermes and Hekate together do not appear in scenes of the Return that reflect the Mysteries, namely scenes in which we see Kore in the company of Eubouleus.[24]

The hydria in London (BM E 183; *Figs. 74–76*), which also seems to reflect ritual in the Thesmophoria, and the calyx crater in Durham, which may be an abbreviated version of the scene on the hydria, both place Hekate at the departure of Triptolemus. Thus a bit more weight is added to the suggestion made in Appendix 3 that Triptolemos belongs mythically with the Eleusinian Thesmophoria as well as the Mysteria.[25] Although he is not among the gods prayed to by the heraldess in the *Thesmophoriazusae*, the heraldess is not referring specifically to the Thesmophoria at Eleusis but to a more generic Attic cult. It would not be surprising therefore if someday we should find evidence for worship of Triptolemos at the Eleusinian Thesmophoria.

At any rate, the context in which we should expect to find Hekate at Eleusis is the Thesmophoria, and as I suggested in Chapter 1, specifically as a mythic analogue to Kourotrophos, a goddess worshipped in the cult. In archaeological terms, therefore, we should expect to find Hekate not in cult but in art.

Recently C.M. Edwards discovered that the so-called Fleeing Maiden at Eleusis, a pedimental sculpture of the Early Classical period, is evidently a torchbearer.[26] While the technical side of his argument must be left to experts in sculpture, his iconographical argument for interpreting the statue as Hekate seems reasonable. Its dimensions rule out an original location in the pediment of the Telesterion.[27]

The statue was found outside the peribolos of the sanctuary in the vicinity of the South Gate. Later, after the precinct of the "Sacred House" was discovered in this area, the excavators stated that the statue was found "near" the polygonal peribolos of this precinct,[28] and recently Travlos declared that it was found "on the south side of the wall" of the precinct.[29] So it is possible, as the excavators suggested, that it belonged to the pediment of a contemporary building uncovered in this precinct.[30] Signs of cult in and around an earlier building in the precinct start in the late eight century and continue to the time of the Persian invasions.[31] The small complex comprises several rooms, a bothros, stacks of vases filled with ash, and a courtyard. Among the small finds were figurines of Demeter/Kore not unlike those that have been found by the thousands in Sicily and Southern Italy, as well as the base of a black-figure vase showing scenes of women.[32] Mylonas excavated a

---

cover, now lost, once in a private collection in Berlin, is varied and speculative: Berard, *Anodoi*, pp. 99–101, pl. 9, fig. 31; Edwards, pp. 313–314; *LIMC*, Demeter, 329. Its Eleusinian character is not clear.

On a hydria in Würzburg, which may show a *statue* of Hekate, see above, p. 62. Edwards, p. 317, interprets scenes on a pelike in Brussels (R 235; *ARV*², p. 1121, no. 11) as the departure of Triptolemos and the return of Kore (accompanied by Hekate), but this seems quite unlikely; there are no attributes of Triptolemos here; cf. Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, p. 122, n. 134.

[23] See above, pp. 33–34.

[24] Hermes alone appears on the lekythos from Apollonia in Sofia, above, p. 71, *Fig. 26*, and the pelike from Athens, above p. 71, *Fig. 25*, where the painters apparently mixed the traditions. On Hermes on the amphora in Cos (*Fig. 34*) see above, p. 83.

[25] P. 113.

[26] Eleusis Inv. No. 5235. Edwards, pp. 307–313.

[27] Edwards, p. 311.

[28] K. Kourouniotes & L. Travlos, "Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι", *Praktika* 1937, p. 51.

[29] Travlos, *Attika*, p. 94, and on p. 130 he says "im Südteil der Mauer," with presumably the same meaning; if it had been built into the wall, Kourouniotes surely would have mentioned that fact.

[30] Above, n. 28.

[31] Kourouniotes & Travlos (above, n. 28); Mylonas, *Eleusis*, pp. 59–60, 101–103.

[32] Kourouniotes & Travlos (above, n. 28), figs. 8–13. In one of the scenes one woman is decorating another.

similar but earlier complex in 1952, situated close to the Telesterion and in use from late Mycenaean times to the end of the Geometric period.[33] It is of course possible that both complexes served the same purpose, the precinct of the "Sacred House" succeeding the earlier one by the Telesterion after it was forced to go out of use because of the expansion of the sanctuary. These and other cult areas of the Archaic and Geometric periods deserve careful study by archaeologists.[34] The characteristics of the area of the "Sacred House" caused Travlos to declare in his final publication that it was the site of the Thesmophoria.[35] It indeed seems possible that it was related somehow to the Thesmophoria (although this festival must also have made use of the main sanctuary); the finds seem to be consistent with such a function, and the fact that the building phases of the precinct followed those of the main sanctuary indicates that the precinct was very important. Confirmation of the nature of the cult must await further study.

It is in any case extremely interesting that the statue which Edwards has interpreted as Hekate seems to be associated with a structure that Travlos independently declared to be the site of the Thesmophoria, for this physical connection between statue and cult, though hypothetical, is just what the other evidence concerning Hekate had led us to look for at Eleusis.[36]

---

[33] Mylonas, *Eleusis*, p. 60.

[34] Other areas: the Archaic altar and stepped podium, Mylonas, *Eleusis*, pp. 70–73; the sacrificial pyres under study by K. Kokkou Viridi, cf. Clinton, 'Sacrifice', p. 72 (where the altar Z 12 is a misprint for Z 13).

[35] Travlos, *Attika*, p. 93.

[36] For the fragment of Melanthius, *On the Mysteries*, cited in Ath. 325C–D (= *FGrHist* 326 F2), which mentions that two species of fish are sacrificed to Hekate because Hekate is also θαλάττιος, see Clinton, 'Sacrifice', p. 47, n. 17a, where the fragment is quoted. Without a specific context it would be dubious to conclude, as Brown, p. 47, n. 26, does, that fish were sacrificed at the Mysteries, a festival which is anything but θαλάττιος.

Appendix 6

The "Omphalos" and the Cult of Dionysus in Eleusis

I. The "Omphalos"

There is a hemispherical object in several Eleusinian scenes which looks like an omphalos. It must be distinguished from a roundish object which in some scenes is simply a highly stylized rendering of the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα. The Mirthless Rock in its less stylized, more natural form appears in several scenes simply as a rather amorphous rock or a spot on the hillside: e.g., on the Stanford volute crater (*Fig. 11*), a hydria in the Cabinet des Médailles,[1] the Ninnion Tablet (*Frontispiece*; Catalog, Iakchos, Painting, No. 1), a hydria in Athens (*Fig. 33*; Catalog, Iakchos, Painting, No. 3), the Regina Vasorum (*Fig. 17*; Catalog, Eubouleus, Painting, No. 5), and probably also the Pourtalès crater (*Fig. 24*; Catalog, Eubouleus, Painting, No. 4), which resembles the Ninnion Tablet in showing Demeter sitting on the hillside next to an empty seat.[2] In its more stylized form the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα appears in scenes as an egg-shaped rock: on the St. Petersburg pelike (*Figs. 20–21*; Catalog, Eubouleus, Painting, No. 1) and the Bern hydria (*Figs. 22–23*; Catalog, Eubouleus, Painting, No. 8). On the Ninnion Tablet (*Frontispiece*), however, where Demeter sits on the Mirthless Rock, the hemispherical object usually called an "omphalos" is separate from the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα.

The nature of this "omphalos," as well as its relation to the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα, needs to be examined. The iconographic evidence gives us at least a basis for discussion. Four scenes show what seems to be an "omphalos": the Ninnion Tablet (*Frontispiece*), another votive tablet from Eleusis (*Fig. 71*; Catalog, Eubouleus, Painting, No. 6), an amphora in Cos (*Fig. 34*; Catalog, Iakchos, Painting, No. 8), and a hydria from Crete in Athens (*Figs. 56–57*; Catalog, Eubouleus, Painting, No. 3). On the Ninnion Tablet it seems to be associated with the first day of the festival at the sanctuary (the arrival of the initiates in the company of Iakchos) and with the Mirthless Rock.[3] The hydria from Crete in Athens (*Figs. 56–57*) may be similar in this respect, but we cannot be sure that Demeter here is sitting on the Mirthless Rock. On both the amphora in Cos (*Fig. 34*) and the hydria in Athens (*Figs. 56–57*) the "omphalos" appears as a low, circular stone, no higher than about mid calf with respect to the figure closest to it. On the Ninnion Tablet it is given a special position in the center, its size evidently exaggerated a bit, but even so, measured against Demeter's leg, it is not as high as her knee. The

---

[1] De Ridder 451; Metzger, *Recherches*, p. 39, no. 29, pl. XVIII. 2; *LIMC*, Demeter, 262 with pl.

[2] See above, p. 75. In scenes from outside Attica, some see Demeter on the Mirthless Rock in a tomb fresco in Vergina; Lindner, *Raub*, pp. 30–34, no. 21; *LIMC*, Demeter, 122. Beschi, *LIMC*, 126, 129, adds reliefs from Pompeii and Cnossos, and possibly a bronze bezel in London, ibid., 130.

[3] See above, pp. 74–75.

Cos amphora and the Athens hydria give perhaps a more accurate representation of its height. The Mirthless Rock, however, in its highly stylized (egg-shaped) form, consistently gives the impression of being significantly taller than the "omphalos." Therefore it seems inadvisable to regard them as the same object.

The Ninnion Tablet associates the "omphalos" with the initiates' staffs that lie beneath it: both "omphalos" and staffs are set in a special, central position within the lower zone. A similar association of "omphalos" and staff occurs on the Cos amphora, though with a less geometrical arrangement. On the Regina Vasorum (*Fig. 18*) there is an arrangement similar to that on the Ninnion Tablet but instead of the "omphalos" we see a plemochoe. These associations suggest that like the staff the "omphalos" represents cult apparatus and is not a landmark like the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα. Since it is depicted on the same scale as the associated apparatus, it too should be portable. In addition, the Ninnion Tablet and the other tablet at Eleusis (*Fig. 71*) show that it was decked out with a garland.

This low, round stone is most likely what was called at Eleusis the Ἱερὸς Λίθος. In a decree set up at Eleusis *ca.* 20 B.C., in which various priests of the genos of the Kerykes are listed, one of them is called ὁ λιθοφόρος τοῦ ἱεροῦ λίθου καὶ ἱερεὺς Διὸς Ὁρίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ὁρίας καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Προσ<β>α-[[σ]]τηρίου καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Θεμελιοῦχου.[4] A seat in the Theater of Dionysus was designated ἱερέως λιθοφόρου.[5] A statue of a Λιθοφόρος was set up within the sanctuary around 200 A.D.[6] The man was a member of the Kerykes and his name is given as Μ Αὐρήλιος Λιθοφόρος Πρόσδεκτος Πιστοκράτους Κεφαλῆθεν. The name resembles that of other Eleusinian priests in that it imitates hieronymy to a certain extent, a practice which incorporates the priest's title in his name.[7] The location of this statue base, within the sanctuary, tends to suggest that the Lithophoros was a priest of the Mysteries; and the form of the man's name, with its allusion to hieronymy, a custom that was practiced only by Eleusinian priests, leaves no doubt.[8] He was the priest of the Mysteries who carried the Sacred Stone; i.e. he oversaw this task, while assistants no doubt did the actual work of loading and unloading the stone.

Sacred stones occur in a variety of cults, especially in connection with Hermes and Apollo (e.g. the well-known Delphic omphalos) but in many others as well.[9] The stone in the Eleusinian vase paintings, as we have seen, is most likely a piece of (portable) cult apparatus. The Ἱερὸς Λίθος was presumably carried by the Lithophoros to the Mirthless Rock or its vicinity. It may well have been carried in the procession. At Miletus sacred stones called *gylloi* were carried in a procession in which sacred singers (called Molpoi) participated: καὶ γυλλοὶ φέρονται δύο, καὶ τίθεται παρ' Ἑκάτην τὴν πρόσθεν πυλέων ἐστεμμένος καὶ ἀκρήτῳ κατασπένδετε, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ἐς Δίδυμα ἐπὶ θύρας τίθεται.[10] "One of the *gylloi* is to be placed by the statue of Hekate in front of the gates and it is garlanded, ἐστεμμένος; ... the other is placed by the doors at Didyma." At Eleusis too, as we have seen, the stone is garlanded; and the inference we drew from the Ninnion Tablet was that it was placed in the vicinity of the Mirthless Rock, which is by the entrance to the sanctuary. It is interesting that in the decree of *ca.* 20 B.C.

---

[4] See text in Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, p. 51, lines 15–17; on the priest, ibid., p. 98.

[5] *IG* II² 5077; cf. Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, p. 98.

[6] *IG* II² 3658.

[7] On hieronymy, Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, pp. 9–10. The statue base may have been set up after the death of Prosdektos, in which case it is quite possible that he actually practiced hieronymy when he was alive.

[8] In *Sacred Officials*, p. 98, I was sceptical of the connection of the priesthood with the Mysteries because of my failure to see the significance of the hieronymy (or imitiation of it).

[9] The best discussion of stone cults: Nilsson, *GGR*, I², pp. 201–206 (with bibliography). Cf. E. Maass, *RhM* 78, 1929, 1–25. H-V. Herrmann, *Omphalos*, Münster 1959, provides an interesting collection of material, but his speculations are often unconvincing.

[10] Soklowski, *LAM* 50, lines 25–27. Cf. Wilamowitz, *SBBerl*, 1904, pp. 627–629.

which lists priests of the Kerykes, a group of three Hymnagogoi appear right after the Lithophoros.[11] If the procedure was the same as at Miletus, the Hieros Lithos would have been carried in procession from the Eleusinion in the City to Eleusis.

The Lithophoros in the decree of *ca.* 20 B.C. was also a priest of gods associated with boundaries or entrances. Nilsson considered the Ἱερὸς Λίθος in the context of boundary stones of fields, and he may be right.[12] The boundaries of the Rharian Field, for example, were surely important. But the Sacred Stone need not have been attached to a field. The priest of Zeus Horios, Athena Horia, and other such gods would of course be expert in rites pertinent to stone boundary markers, and it may have been natural for the Eleusinian Lithophoria to be given to such a specialist. If so, this priest simply specialized in sacred stones of various sorts, and we need not suppose an intimate connection between boundary stones and the Sacred Stone of the Mysteries.[13]

At any rate, the Ἱερὸς Λίθος was emblematic of Eleusis and the Mysteries; perhaps it was placed precisely at the entrance to the sanctuary. Initiates may have poured libations on it as they entered, just as at Miletus one poured unmixed wine on the *gyllos*. It was an additional symbol which an artist could use to indicate that the festival was taking place or about to take place.

II. The Cult of Dionysus in Eleusis

The stone on the hydria from Crete in Athens (*Figs. 56–57*; Catalog, Eumolpos, Painting, No. 3), may or may not be the same stone as the Hieros Lithos. Another hemispherical stone appears on a hydria in Lyon (*Fig. 58–59*; Catalog, Eumolpos, Painting, No. 4), but this time it is larger and Dionysus is sitting on it. The composition of the two scenes is quite similar: in the center, Demeter seated, Kore standing, and Dionysus seated (on a white hemispherical object on the Lyon hydria; slightly above a similar object on the Athens vase); to the left of this group, Eumolpos with his scepter; and on the left and right borders of the scene, women. On the Lyon hydria the woman on the left is sitting on the hillside playing a tympanum, while the woman on the right is dancing. On the Athens vase the woman on the left is dancing, but there are two women on the right, one of whom, sitting on the hillside, makes the "bridal gesture" with her veil. The scene is unusual in that in each case the attention of Demeter and Kore is directed at Dionysus, and Kore seems to be approaching him, her torches pointing in his direction. The women on the borders do not belong to the strictly Eleusinian sphere, therefore must belong to the Dionysiac; they have been called maenads, and this seems to be right.

Metzger suggested that Dionysus is represented here as a *paredros* of Demeter and Kore in the Mysteries, but as Mylonas pointed out, there is absolutely no evidence in our extensive epigraphical documentation that Dionysus played such a role in the Mysteries.[14] Mylonas thought that the scene represented a preliminary purification before the Mysteries.[15] Some

---

[11] Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, p. 51, lines 18–20.

[12] *GGR* II², p. 349, n. 2.

[13] E. Vanderpool published a tantalizing stone from the Eleusinion in Athens which carries the inscription: λίθος [---]. *Hesperia* 35, 1966, pp. 275–276, no. 2, pl. 72: Agora Inv. No. I 6876. Preserved height 0.19 m.; preserved width 0.20 m.; preserved thickness 0.08 m. The vacant space to the left of the inscription suggests that the word ἱερός probably did not occur here, but it is conceivable that it occurred above on a separate line. The stone is Acropolis limestone; the style of the letters is of the Roman empire. The late date is a bit difficult to reconcile with a Sacred Stone which would have been carefully maintained down through the centuries. And since the stone was found near the modern surface, it seems more likely to think, with Vanderpool, that it comes from the Acropolis and is one of the two "unworked" stones on which Pausanias (1.28.5) tells us that litigants stood: Stone of Injury (λίθος Ὕβρεως) and Stone of Ruthlessness (λίθος Ἀναιδείας). I am grateful to Judith Binder for calling Vanderpool's publication to my attention.

[14] *Représentations*, p. 252. Mylonas, Διόνυσος, esp. pp. 117–118. On Dionysus and Iakchos see above, pp. 65–67.

[15] Διόνυσος, pp. 99–105.

ritual may be involved, but the presence of maenads seems out of place for a purification in connection with the Mysteries. The maenads seem equally out of place for the initiation of Dionysus in the Mysteries, and this is confirmed by the scenes that clearly allude to his initiation.[16]

What is striking about the scene on these two vases is the centrality of both Dionysus and Demeter and Kore, or to put it slightly differently, their equality—neither is subordinate to the other. Also important, I think, is that allusion is made not to a particular event in the cult myth of the Mysteries but, by means of the figure of Eumolpos, to the cult itself. By the same token the presence of the maenads does not suggest a scene of Dionysus in the Mysteries but the familiar ambience of a Dionysiac cult.

The volute crater in Stanford puts us on the track, I think, toward the answer.[17] On one side there are two scenes, on the left (*Fig. 11*) Demeter on the Mirthless Rock, on the right (*Fig. 12*) the mission of Triptolemus; the scenes allude to the sad beginning and the happy ending of the Mysteries, in other words to the whole festival in its progression from beginning to end.[18] On the other side (*Figs. 13–14*) Dionysus, looking right, stands in the center, a thyrsos in his right hand, a kantharos in his left. To the left is a Papasilenos, who is labeled Pom(po)s and looks left toward a young woman who plays the lyre and in turn looks toward him (behind her a satyr appears under the handle). This pair makes up a separate group from the one on the right, which features Dionysus and an unknown woman holding a torch in her right hand, an oinochoe in her left ("group" is perhaps not the right term since Dionysus stands in right profile while the woman is in a frontal pose). Pom(po)s and the lyre-player allude to a Dionysiac procession, and the satyr under the handle most likely to drama. As the scene on the other side refers to the festival of the Mysteries at Eleusis, surely the scene on this side refers also to a festival, most likely a Dionysiac festival at Eleusis.

This seems to be a principle feature also of the London skyphos by Makron (*Figs. 51–54*). The main side has a stunning Triptolemos scene followed on the right by a woman labelled "Eleusis"; behind her under the handle Eumolpos sits looking left; behind Kore sits Poseidon under the left handle, looking right, then on the left Amphitrite, followed by Dionysus in the center of Side B, who is followed in turn by Zeus. All eyes, on both sides, are directed toward Triptolemos. Localization in Eleusis is proclaimed most definitely by the figure of Eleusis herself. Poseidon and Eumolpos under the handles seem to correspond as father and son. Eumolpos of course represents the cult of the Mysteries, and Poseidon, in addition to being his father, has local cult in a temple in front of the sanctuary of Demeter.[19] Dionysus, the central figure on Side B, therefore should also refer to his local cult, with Zeus present as his father (and perhaps also as husband of Demeter and father of Kore). It is very tempting therefore to take the young woman to the right of Dionysus on the Stanford crater as Eleusis, here too proclaiming the local setting; she stands in fact on the border between the Mysteries and the Dionysia, holding a torch in the hand that faces the Mysteries and an oinochoe in the hand facing the Dionysiac scene, a scene that alludes to the sanctuary of Dionysus at Eleusis with its dramatic festival and procession.[20]

The Dionysia at Eleusis were certainly one of the major celebrations of the Rural Dionysia; indeed they may have been the most renowned such festival in Attica, although the sanctuary of Dionysus at Eleusis with its theater has unfortunately not been found. Unlike the sanctuary of Demeter, which belonged

[16] Above, pp. 81–84.

[17] Raubitschek, 'Mission', pp. 115–117, pls. 15–16.

[18] Discussed above, Chap. 1, pp. 15–16, 26, in connection with the Mirthless Rock.

[19] Paus. 1.38.6: temple of Artemis Propylaia and Poseidon Father. Cf. above, Appendix 5, p. 116.

[20] Procession: *IG* II² 949, line 32. Festival: cf. A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, rev. J. Gould & D.M. Lewis, Oxford 1968, pp. 47–48.

to the Athenian state, that of Dionysus belonged to the deme of Eleusis and was their most important sanctuary. It was there that they normally set up their decrees.[21] Sophocles (probably the grandson of the famous playwright) and Aristophanes put on performances there.[22] The festival seems to have been especially important to the Athenian Polis. One fourth-century inscription informs us that a Theban chorus-trainer who donated two choruses at the Eleusinian Dionysia was praised for his *philotimia* toward the deme of Eleusis *and* the Demos of the Athenians.[23] Another sign of its general importance is the reference which the chorus in the *Antigone* make to Dionysus, the god born of Semele and Zeus, with the words "and you hold sway in the all-welcoming folds of Eleusinian Demeter" (1119–1121); this reference, as I stressed above, is to Dionysus in his Eleusinian sanctuary.[24]

The scenes on the two hydrias with which we started this discussion, in Athens (*Figs. 56–57*) and Lyon (*Figs. 58–59*), lend themselves to the same sort of interpretation that applies to the Stanford crater and the London skyphos, viz. allusions in their own way to the sanctuary of the Mysteries and to the Eleusinian sanctuary of Dionysus.[25] The size of the "omphalos" on the Lyon hydria approximates the size of the stylized Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα on the St. Petersburg pelike; i.e. it looks more like a large rock than a portable piece of cult apparatus. In all the other scenes no one *sits* on the Hieros Lithos of the Mysteries. Thus the egg-shaped seat on the Lyon hydria is actually a rock, and this seems to be confirmed by the fact that on the hydria in Athens Dionysus, in an almost identical composition, sits on the hillside, i.e. on a rock. The object below where he is sitting may be the Hieros Lithos of the Mysteries. If that is the case, then it is just an additional allusion to the Mysteries. The poses of Demeter and Kore on the one side, of Dionysus on the other exude a feeling of equality and mutual respect. The equality seems to reflect, on a local level, the coexistence of the great *Attic* cults of Dionysus and of the Two Goddesses on the hill of Eleusis.

---

[21] *IG* II² 1185, 1186, 1188 (= *Sacred Officials*, pp. 18–20); cf. *IG* II² 2845. In addition, honors granted by the deme are normally announced in their theater of Dionysus: above inscriptions and *IG* II² 1187, 1189, 1194+, probably 1192.

[22] *IG* II² 3090; cf. commentary in my forthcoming edition.

[23] *IG* II² 1186.

[24] See above, pp. 66–67.

[25] A similar sort of interpretation seems to be indicated for a scene on a red-figure bell crater in Naples (Museo Nazionale H 3245) by the Painter of Naples 3245 (*ARV*², p. 1438, no. 1; *LIMC*, Apollo, 933 with pl.; Demeter, 371). The upper level of the scene is taken up by Triptolemos flanked by Demeter and Kore; the lower center by a satyr and Dionysus, with Hermes and Apollo at the far left and right respectively but on a level intermediary between the upper and the lower. Central, therefore, are the gods of the two great cults at Eleusis; Hermes may allude to a local Eleusinian cult or Hermes Enagonios, who was associated with the initiates' journey to Eleusis (see above, p. 83), and Apollo to the shrine at Daphni, which probably served as an important stop on their journey.

Dionysus serves perhaps a similar function in a relief in the Eleusis museum (Inv. No. 5068) where he appears wearing a nebris (O. Kern, *AM* 17, 1892, p. 127, fig. 2; G.E. Rizzo, *RM* 25, 1910, p. 125, fig. 12; Metzger, *Recherches*, p. 35, no. 9; Peschlow-Bindokat, p. 156, R 66; *LIMC*, Demeter, 411); a lyre-player (Apollo?) appears on the right. Although its fragmentary state makes it difficult to interpret, it may be rather similar to the scene on the bell crater in Naples.

On an example of a relief from central Athens with cultic topography see above, p. 21, n. 38.

Appendix 7

The Name of the Telesterion

"Telesterion" is quite a rare word. It is not attested epigraphically at Eleusis or (with reference to a building) anywhere else, to my knowledge. According to LSJ and the *TLG*[1] the word occurs in Greek literature only seven times, five times with the meaning "hall of initiation."[2] Three of the latter examples occur in Plutarch, and it is from him, especially the famous passage in *Pericles* (13.7) about the construction of the Eleusinian building, that modern scholars have adopted the term. Plutarch happens to be the earliest writer to use the word in this sense.[3] In Classical writers we find, instead, Anaktoron: Herodotus, 9.65 and Euripides, *Supplices*, 88. Euripides uses this word frequently elsewhere to mean "temple," and other authors throughout antiquity also use it (or its plural) in this sense.[4] Although it has been argued that in Euripides and Herodotus the word means "sanctuary" or the "inner sanctum" of the Telesterion,[5] it is much more likely that the meaning in these passages is "hall of initiation" (see below, *Testimonia*, Nos. 1, 3). The word that occurs in Classical inscriptions for this building is "temple," i.e. νεώς, though the number of examples is very small, just two, both from the fifth century: *IG* I^3 79, line 8; 386, line 103 (= 387, line 113).[6]

In several other inscriptions at Eleusis, especially statue bases of the Roman period, the word Anaktoron appears. It is therefore important to determine what we can learn about its meaning from the context in each inscription. One of these bases (*IG* II^2 3709) is in honor of the deceased daughter of a hierophantid. It is quite a large base and now lies in front of the Telesterion, probably not far from where it was originally set up. It reads: "Initiates of Demeter, may there be sacred remembrance of me next to (παρά) the Anaktoron of Demeter...." The epigram then gives her lineage, starting with her parents. A similar base, now in fragments (*IG* II^2 4218), in honor of a deceased Eumolpid, states that "the Kekropidai set it up [next to (παρά) the Anaktor]a of Demeter" (the restoration [Anaktor]a is highly probable). In each case "next to the Anaktoron" refers to the location of the monument, which cannot be within the Telesterion. Statues of people are out of the question inside that sacred building, called a "temple" (νεώς) in the fifth century; they belong outside, where many statue bases have of course been found. On these monuments, therefore, Anaktoron refers to the building next to which they were set up. Another

---

[1] As searched on the TLG Pilot CD ROM #3, Irvine 1987.

[2] To which another example, in Pollux, may be added; see below, n. 8.

[3] The later ones are Clement of Alexandria and Damascius of Damascus.

[4] Cf. LSJ, s.v. ἀνάκτορον; Deubner, 'Weihehaus', p. 6.

[5] E.g., O. Rubensohn, *AA* 1933, col. 322.

[6] For other instances of "temple" (Latin and a scholion to Aristides) cf. Deubner, 'Weihehaus', p. 1.

base (*IG* II² 4077), in honor of Praxagora, says: "O strangers, you behold after the famous Anaktora of Demeter also the famous race of the fathers of Praxagora...," i.e. statues of various members of this family standing in this court. Here too Anaktora refers most naturally to the whole building. The Anaktoron and the statues of her family are the most important things (according to the epigram) to be seen by the visitor as he reads this poem in front of the Anaktoron. Two other bases (*IG* II² 3709, 3811) refer to a hierophant emerging from a radiant Anaktoron. This Anaktoron has been taken to mean "Holy of Holies" and identified with a structure which J. Travlos excavated next to the center of the building.[7] However, if we are to be consistent with the other examples, Anaktoron ought to mean the whole building.

Other passages in literature and a Delian inscription (below, Testimonia, Nos. 4, 6, 16) refer to the Anaktoron as the destination of a journey—in one case (No. 16) it is compared to a palace in Babylon: here too the meaning "hall of initiation" is preferabe to "inner sanctum." Several passages (below, Testimonia, Nos. 14, 17) refer to initiates *entering* the Anaktoron, which of course would be impossible if it were an inner sanctum. In many other passages as well the word refers most probably to the entire building.

It seems almost incredible that we all could have been so wrong, for so long a time, about a matter of such importance. But the reason is not hard to find. Travlos' discovery of the structure by the center of the building satisfied an assumption, formed from our own culture, that "a holy of holies" should be at the center of this special building; and one passage, which Foucart, Mylonas, and I (among others) relied upon, seemed to confirm it. However, this fragment of Aelian (fr. 10), stitched together from scraps in the Souda, cannot withstand close inspection. It refers to a degenerate daduch who forced his way "into the Megaron, where only the hierophant was permitted to enter." Some late writers use the term "Megaron" for "Anaktoron,"[8] so "Megaron" here should mean the same as "Anaktoron" does elsewhere. However, so far as I know, "Megaron" is never used of an "inner sanctum," which ought to be an *adyton*. The sentence in Aelian therefore says, if the scraps in the Souda can be trusted, that only the hierophant was permitted to enter the Megaron, i.e. the Anaktoron. If this is true, and in the absence of a clear context it is hard to know precisely what to think, it is not inconceivable that such a prohibition was in effect for a certain time during the τελετή: i.e. of the priests and priestesses only the hierophant was allowed to enter the Telesterion at this particular moment, presumably just before he first emerged from the Telesterion (Anaktoron) in the midst of a great light. But it must be emphasized that the fragment is stitched together from so many quotations, inconsistent among themselves, that it is rather unclear what Aelian actually wrote. In any event, this difficult scrap is not enough to overcome the clear evidence from many other sources that the Anaktoron is the hall of initiation, the building which we are accustomed to call the Telesterion.

The nature of the structure which Travlos excavated remains to be determined, and this will probably require a careful reexamination of the remains. One question raised by Travlos' excavation is why the foundations of this structure were replaced in the Roman period. To my knowledge the destruction of the Telesterion by the Costobocs did not require rebuilding of the *foundations* anywhere else in the building. It is not out of the question that the structure is

---

[7] Travlos, 'Anaktoron'.

[8] Plut., *De superst.* 169E. Hesychius, s.v. ἀνάκτορον· ὃ τινες μέγαρον καλοῦσιν. Pollux 9.15, in a context of buildings and sanctuaries: τὰ κατὰ δήμους ἱερά, τελεστήρια, μέγαρα, ἀνάκτορα, χρηστήρια, ἡρῷα, κτλ. Cf. S. Dow & R.F. Healey, *A Sacred Calendar of Eleusis* (Harvard Theological Studies, 21), Cambridge, Mass. 1965, p. 32. In my article, 'Sacrifice', p. 76, I suggested that the association of μέγαρον and ἀνάκτορον in these passages may have been due to the attachment to the Telesterion of the sacrificial pits called μέγαρα, but now I think it much more likely that μέγαρον in this late usage is simply an archaic/poetic term for "temple" or "house," like ἀνάκτορον.

an *adyton*, but it needs to be determined whether it could have served as a platform (like the upper storey of a *skene* building) on which scenes or figures were displayed.

Ἀνάκτορον: Testimonia

A fairly full, important discussion was given by L. Deubner, 'Zum Weihehaus der eleusinischen Mysterien', *AbhBerl*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1945/46, no. 2, published shortly before Travlos' report on the structure which he excavated by the center of the Telesterion. Deubner, as it happened, argued that no such structure existed within the Telesterion. This part of his article of course was instantly refuted by Travlos' discovery. (Although Travlos called the structure the Anaktoron, it seems that to him its name was less important than its purpose.)[9] It was perhaps a consequence of the striking refutation of this major part of his article that the evidence assembled by Deubner for identifying the Anaktoron as the Telesterion was not taken seriously in subsequent studies on the Mysteries.

Much of the present discussion of the passages is based on Deubner's study. They are given here roughly in chronological order.

1. Herodotus 9.65. In recounting that none of the Persians fighting at Plataea entered the sanctuary of Demeter or died within it, Herodotus explains: ἡ θεὸς αὐτὴ σφεας οὐκ ἐδέκετο ἐμπρήσαντας [τὸ ἱρὸν] τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι ἀνάκτορον. The natural object of the Persians' destruction would be the entire building, as it was in the case of the Costobocs, not just a small structure within it.[10] This seems more natural to suppose than the subtle point that Demeter was upset principally over what they did to the inner sanctum.

2. Sophocles, frg. 757 Radt, seems to be an allusion to the Eleusinian Anaktoron, but not enough is preserved to allow any firm conclusions about the nature of the structure.

3. Euripides, *Supp.* 88. See discussion in my article, 'Sacrifice', p. 71. The building called Anaktoron is visible to the women—they point to it—from their location outside it, viz. by the Callichoron Well. Euripides frequently uses ἀνάκτορον for "temple."

4. [Antagoras of Rhodes], no. 3 Powell (= Gow-Page, no. 2).

Ὦ ἴτε Δήμητρος πρὸς ἀνάκτορον, ὦ ἴτε, μύσται,
μηδ' ὕδατος προχοὰς δείδιτε χειμερίους·
Τοῖον γὰρ Ξενοκλῆς ὁ Ξείνιδος ἀσφαλὲς ὔμμιν
ζεῦγμα διὰ πλατέος τοῦδ' ἔβαλεν ποταμοῦ.

The Anaktoron as destination of a journey. Lines 3–4 refer to the bridge that Xenocles son of Xenis of the deme Sphettos built over the Cephisos (*IG* II² 1191) to overcome "the stormy streams of water" (line 2). The epigram, attributed (in all probability) falsely to Antagoras, was probably inscribed on or by the bridge.[11]

To the initiates reaching the bridge the sanctuary is now in sight. The Anaktoron—the goal of the journey—would probably be as visible to those crossing the bridge as it was to the women standing in front of the sanctuary in Euripides' *Supplices* (No. 3).

5. Hegesander, *FGrH* 415a, frg. 8 (= Ath. 167D). Demetrios, grandson of Demetrius of Phaleron, set up a θρόνος for the hetaira Aristagora παρὰ τὸ ἀνάκτορον despite potential protest. It was a highly irregular act and, as

---

[9] *Attika*, p. 93: "... das *Adyton*, *Megaron* oder *Anaktoron*, wie es auch genannt wird...."

[10] In fact, however, the Telesterion seems not to have been burned: T.L. Shear, 'The Demolished Temple at Eleusis', in *Studies in Athenian Architecture, Sculpture, and Topography Presented to Homer A. Thompson* (*Hesperia*, Supplement 20), Princeton, N.J. 1982, pp. 128–140.

[11] Cf. A.S.F. Gow & D.L. Page, *The Greek Anthology, Hellenistic Epigrams*, II, Cambridge 1965, pp. 29–30, and my commentary (forthcoming) to *IG* II² 1191.

it was for a hetaira, extremely offensive. Aristagora would have a good view of the hierophant when he emerged from the Telesterion (see below, Nos. 9–10) and of any events that took place in the court in front of the Telesterion. Cf. Deubner, 'Weihehaus', pp. 13–14.

6. *InsDélos* 2552, lines 15–16.[12] A herald commemorates several victories, including one at the Eleusinia, the agonistic festival at Eleusis:
ἀγνὸν Ἐλευσῖνος πρὸς ἀνάκ[τορον – ⏑ ⏑ – – –]
πενταετῆ Δηοῦς ἦλθον [– – ⏑ ⏑ – –]
The festival was not the same as the Mysteria, and there can be no doubt that Anaktoron here stands for the sanctuary as the destination of the herald; for at the Eleusinia an inner sanctum could have no role.

7. *IG* II² 1552a, an Eleusinian inventory, *ca.* 100 B.C., probably a list of ex-votos that are to be melted down. In line 1 the phrase: πρὸς τῶι τοίχωι τοῦ ἀνακτόρου. The words immediately preceding and following are lost, but the phrase gives the location of some object in the inventory. This Anaktoron has been thought to be an inner sanctum but there is no reason it could not be the entire building: the object was simply located next to (perhaps on the outside of) the wall of the building.

8. Posidonius, 253.100–103 Edelstein-Kidd = 247 Theiler (Ath. 213D). The silencing of the Ἴακχος and the shutting of the Anaktoron is part of a metaphor of shutting institutions, such as sanctuaries, the theater, law courts, oracles, etc., in this case the Mysteries: μὴ περιίδωμεν ... τὴν ἱερὰν τοῦ Ἰάκχου φωνὴν κατασεσιγαμένην καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν τοῖν θεοῖν ἀνάκτορον κεκλημένον. Anaktoron therefore can easily indicate the Telesterion.

9. Plutarch, *Per.* 13.7. Plutarch frequently uses Anaktoron to mean "temple." Here he describes the "Telesterion" at Eleusis that was begun by the architect Koroibos under Pericles.[13] After Koroibos did not succeed in completing it, "Xenocles of the deme Cholargos built the Opaion on top of the Anaktoron." It is sometimes argued that Anaktoron here cannot refer to the whole building because it would be strange for Plutarch to call it τελεστήριον in one sentence and ἀνάκτορον in the next. However, given Plutarch's penchant for variety of phrase and for using ἀνάκτορον as "temple," the change really causes no difficulty. Actually, it would be architecturally inaccurate to say that the Opaion was built on top of the inner sanctum as reconstructed by Travlos.[14] It certainly could not have been constructed *directly* on top of this structure. Nor would it be accurate to say that its position on the roof lay above the inner structure; for the Opaion should not be off-center, as it would be if it were placed exactly above this interior structure. It would be perfectly accurate and much more appropriate, on the other hand, to say that Xenocles built (ἐκορύφωσε) the Opaion on top of the (whole) *building*. A similar use of νεώς and Anaktoron *in the same sentence* for the same structure occurs in Themistius, below, Testimonia, No. 20.

In *De prof. in virt.* 81D–E philosophical neophytes are compared to noisy initiates at the beginning of the rite:

> ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ τελούμενοι κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐν θορύβῳ καὶ βοῇ συνίασι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὠθούμενοι, δρωμένων δὲ καὶ δεικνυμένων τῶν ἱερῶν προσέχουσιν ἤδη μετὰ φόβου καὶ σιωπῆς, οὕτω καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ περὶ θύρας πολὺν θόρυβον ὄψει καὶ λαλίαν καὶ θρασύτητα, ὠθουμένων πρὸς τὴν δόξαν ἐνίων ἀγροίκως τε καὶ βιαίως· ὁ δ' ἐντὸς γενόμενος καὶ μέγα φῶς ἰδών, οἷον ἀνακτόρων ἀνοιγομένων, ἕτερον λαβὼν σχῆμα καὶ σιωπὴν καὶ θάμβος ὥσπερ θεῷ τῷ λόγῳ ταπεινὸς συνέπεται καὶ κεκοσμημένος.
>
> Just as initiates at first push against one another noisily and shout, but when the sacred matters are enacted and displayed, pay attention, awestruck and in silence, so too at the very entrance to phil-

[12] W. Peek's restorations, *Zeitschrift Halle-Wittenberg* 9, 1960, pp. 199–201 (text in *SEG* XIX, 532), are impossible; he confuses the Eleusinia with the Mysteria.

[13] See K. Clinton, 'The Date of the Classical Telesterion at Eleusis', in ΦΙΛΙΑ ΕΠΗ, II, Athens 1988, pp. 254–262.

[14] Travlos, 'Anaktoron', figs. 1–2, 4.

> osophy you will notice considerable noise and bold conversation, as some push rudely and forcefully toward repute, but once inside (i.e. gaining mastery [of philosophy]) and beholding a great light, just as when the Anaktoron is being opened, one adopts a different attitude, silence and awe, and with humility and self-control follows the argument as if a god.

The passage is usually taken to mean that the initiate sees the Anaktoron *after* entering the Telesterion,[15] but as a closer look will show, that is not actually what it says. The analogous experiences of the initiate and philosophical nephyte are compared but not in every respect: the precise point of comparison is the *complete change* in attitude, from an improper one (lack of reverence/restraint) to proper attentiveness and self-control, in the presence of a higher order (divine or quasi-divine). In the case of the initiate this change takes place at a particular time, viz. "when the sacred matters are enacted and displayed," without any reference to place. The philosophical neophyte, on the other hand, undergoes this change when he, ἐντὸς γενόμενος, sees a great light. In terms of philosophical education ἐντὸς γενόμενος primarily signifies "gaining mastery (of φιλοσοφίας)"[16]—only then can he see the light of truth—but at the same time the phrase also completes a metaphor of spatial progression used *just of the philosophical neophyte*: περὶ θύρας ... ἐντὸς γενόμενος. At this point in his "spatial" progress he receives illumination; and this metaphorical illumination picks up the initial simile of the initiate's change of attitude, but now with much greater precision: the great light is also the *very moment* in the rite when the initiate's attitude changes, viz. "when the Anaktoron is being opened." In illumination the two experiences coincide. It is important to bear in mind that the progression of the initiate is expressed purely in temporal terms, but the intellectual progression of the incipient philosopher is expressed through a spatial metaphor. The text, therefore, offers no justification for the assumption that the spatial metaphor should (1) be applied also to the initiates and then (2) in their case be taken literally.

The spatial metaphor serves an important function; it contributes to a significant point that Plutarch is making with regard to progress in philosophy: a person desirous of philosophy must take the initiative and *enter* (gain control of) philosophy in order to get illumination; he must not appear to get the truth without effort. Such effort is not required of the initiate at this crucial point; if the Anaktoron is the Telesterion, an Eleusinian initiate can see the light even before he enters (see below, Testimonium No. 10); hence this spatial metaphor was out of the question for the initiates.

The passage does not offer a basis for inferring that the Anaktoron is an interior structure.

10. The hierophant appearing from the Anaktoron: *IG* II² 3709; 3811; Philostratus, *VS* 103 Kayser. The notion that the hierophant emerged from an inner sanctum in a great burst of light has always been, in practical terms, a great problem. If Travlos' reconstruction of the interior structure is even approximately accurate,[17] the vast majority of the initiates would not be able to see the hierophant at this critical moment, even though *seeing* in the Mysteries was all-important: he could not be seen by those located behind and to the sides of the structure, and the mass of columns would keep him from being seen even by many who were facing the door of the inner sanctum. If, however, he emerged from a door of the Telesterion and appeared to the μύσται gathered outside in front of the building, the difficulty disappears. The door could be one of the front doors, but a better possibility might be one of the south doors, which were unencumbered by a colonnade. In addition, the initiates could gather on

---

[15] So, e.g., Graf, *Eleusis*, pp. 131–132; Burkert, *Homo Necans*, p. 276, n. 8, who sees Anaktoron used in literature both for the whole building and for the inner sanctum but here for the latter.

For the interpretation proposed here I am greatly indebted to A. Westervelt and her comments on a draft of this appendix.

[16] Cf. Plut. *Alex.* 32.7, Ammon. *In cat.* 1, Hdt. 1.119.7, Theophr. *Sens.* 55, etc.

[17] Above, n. 14.

the steps cut in the hillside on this side (no. 29 in Travlos' plan, Mylonas, *Eleusis*, fig. 4). This event of course would have to occur before the initiates entered the Anaktoron for the rest of the ritual.

11. Monuments set up near the Anaktoron which refer to it: *IG* II² 3709; 4218; 4077. See discussion above, pp. 126–127.

12. *IG* II² 3764. The mother of the man honored by this monument is called ἱερῆς μητρός ... ἡ τελετὰς ἀνέφαινε θεοῖν παρ' ἀνάκτορα Δηοῦς, and therefore was a hierophantid.[18] This offers the precious information that although the hierophantids did not emerge from the Anaktoron like the hierophant, they did perform some activities—one would imagine parts in the drama, the ἱερόφαντις τῆς πρεσβυτέρας taking the role of Demeter, the ἱερόφαντις τῆς νεωτέρας the role of Kore[19]—outside the Telesterion.

13. Pausanias, 2.14.4. It is perhaps not irrelevant to include this passage which tells of the Mysteries at Celeae in the Peloponnese, which were modeled to a certain extent after those at Eleusis. The Anaktoron mentioned here by Pausanias, surmounted by the chariot of Pelops, seems to be not an inner sanctum but the building where they celebrated their Mysteries.

14. Hermogenes, *Inv.* 2.5.15. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ καιρὸς ἐνέστη τῶν μυστηρίων καὶ ἔδει μυεῖσθαι καθαροὺς εἰσιόντας εἰς τὸ ἀνάκτορον κτλ. The initiates enter the Anaktoron, i.e. Telesterion.

15. Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 9.9.5. In connection with the secret rites of Isis and Osiris in Egypt it is stated that a certain amount of lore is transmitted to the βέβηλοι in the form of myth, but in a higher degree of initiation there is a vision: τοὺς δὲ ἐποπτικωτέρους καὶ ἀνακτόρων ἐντὸς τῇ πυρφόρῳ τῶν ὄντων λαμπάδι φανότερον τελούντων. Isis mysteries were formed in the Hellenistic period after Greek models,[20] and the picture given in this passage, with initiates inside the Anaktoron, resembles the situation at Eleusis: see below, No. 17.

16. Maximus of Tyre, 39.3 compares the journey of life with a journey to Babylon or Eleusis: νόμιζε δὴ καὶ βίον ὁδόν τινα εἶναι μακράν, ἐπ' Ἐλευσῖνα ἢ Βαβυλῶνα ἄγουσαν, τέρμα τε δὴ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὰ βασίλεια αὐτὰ καὶ ἀνάκτορα καὶ τὴν τελετήν. The Anaktoron with its *telete* is equated with the royal palace in Babylon; accordingly, the entire building is meant, just as in the Delian inscription (above, Testimonium No. 7). In the sentence preceding this passage the author notes that if a person is heading toward Eleusis, he is still uninitiated while in the Peloponnese or even Megara, i.e. before he has reached the Anaktoron. There can be no doubt that the Anaktoron is the entire building.

17. Sopater, III, pp. 114.23–115.2; 121.24–26; 123.24; 118.20–22 Walz. The first three passages refer to initiates *entering* the Anaktoron, the first two stating that they are led in by the hierophant together with the daduch. The fourth is difficult; it seems to imply that initiates remain silent until they reach the Anaktoron; cf. D. Innes & M. Winterbottom, *Sopatros the Rhetor* (BICS, Suppl. 48), London 1988, p. 98.

18. Himerius, *orat.* 69.51–2 Colonna. φέρε οὖν πρὸ τελετῆς καὶ ἀνακτόρων, ἃ τε ποιεῖν θέμις ἃ τε μὴ ποιεῖν, κηρύττωμεν. ἀκουέτω πᾶς μύστης καὶ ἐπόπτης ἀνήρ. Lines 60–64: ὑμῶν δὲ ὅστις μὲν ἀκούει καὶ πείθεται, πολὺν ἠχήσει τὸν ἴακχον· τῷ δὲ ἀπειθοῦντι καὶ παρακοῦσαντι κρύψω τὸ πῦρ καὶ κλείσω λόγων ἀνάκτορα. (ἴακχον Clinton Ἴακχον Colonna).

---

[18] Deubner, 'Weihehaus', pp. 14–15; Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, p. 88.

[19] On the names, *Sacred Officials*, p. 86. For a possible reconstruction of the roles of these priestesses, above, p. 89.

[20] These mysteries were essentially not Egyptian in origin: see J.G. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, Cambridge 1970, pp. 390–392.

The metaphor refers to proper behavior preparatory to gaining the learning which he will reveal (line 74): ἡμεῖς δὲ ἱερὰ μύσταις καὶ ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ φαίνωμεν. Taking Anaktoron as the entire building is certainly permissible here. The notion of "closing" the Anaktoron is reminiscent of "closing" temples. See also Nos. 19–20.

19. Synesius, *Dion* 6 Terzaghi. A similar sentiment to the above: ὃν δὲ ὁ θεὸς κινεῖ, τούτῳ καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀνεῴξεται τὰ ἀνάκτορα. See also the following.

20. Themistius, *orat.* 20.235C, refers to his father as a teacher of Aristotelian philosophy: ἅπαντα δὲ ὁμῶς συνανεῴγνυτο τῶν σοφῶν τὰ ἀνάκτορα, καὶ συνεπώπτευσε τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ...

Deubner, 'Weihehaus', p. 10, compares Aristophanes, *Nubes* 302–304, where the same sentiment is expressed but in even clearer terms: (Eleusis) οὗ σέβας ἀρρήτων ἱερῶν, ἵνα μυστοδόκος δόμος ἐν τελεταῖς ἁγίαις ἀναδείκνυται. The structure that is opened to the initiates also receives them; it is of course the Telesterion.

In *orat.* 5.71A Themistius compares the emperor to a hierophant: ἔξω τοῦ νεὼ τὰ προτέλεια μυήσας εἰς τὰ ἀνάκτορα τὴν τελετὴν καταθήσεται. There is of course no doubt that here Anaktora must refer to the entire building, the same building as τοῦ νεώ.

21. Libanius, *Decl.* 12.28 and frg. 50.3. Both passages, slightly corrupt, in the context of Alcibiades' profanation of the Mysteries, refer to torches from the Anaktoron used by Alcibiades and his fellow revellers: 1) τὰς ἐξ Ἀνακτόρου λαμπάδας; 2) "he used for his revel ταῖς ἐκ μυστηρίων δᾳσίν," which seem to be the same as ταῖς ἱεραῖς ταῖς ἐπὶ Ἀνακτόρου. This seems to suggest that initiates took home torches from the Mysteries, perhaps as a sacred memento, just as Christians do with palm leaves on Palm Sunday. These torches Alcibiades was thought to have used in his revels.

* * *

The evidence that Anaktoron means "hall of initiation," i.e. that it is a synonym of Telesterion, is overwhelming.[21] In many of the testimonia Anaktoron can *only* be understood to mean "hall of initiation," and there is no testimonium in which Anaktoron *must* be understood in any other way. This use of the word is consistent with its occurrence in non-Eleusinian contexts where it typically means "temple." In addition, some important problems, such as the visibility of the hierophant when he emergences from the Anaktoron (see Testimonium No. 10), are solved if Anaktoron is the equivalent of Telesterion. In the face of all this it would be quite unreasonable to argue either that ἀνάκτορον indicates only an inner sanctum, or that it can mean both the entire building and an inner sanctum.

---

[21] Rubensohn, *Die Mysterienheiligtümer in Eleusis und Samothrake*, Berlin 1892, p. 31, and *AA* 1933, col. 322, noted that there was ample evidence that the word Anaktoron *also* indicated the entire building. However, in his later article, 'Das Weihehaus von Eleusis und sein Allerheiligstes', *Jdl* 70, 1955, pp. 1–49, esp. 34–43, he focused on Travlos' structure and, p. 42, dismissed without discussion all evidence equating Anaktoron with the entire building as "die meist recht unklaren und mehrdeutigen Angaben später Sophisten und Rhetoren."

Catalogs

In these lists the order usually reflects the discussion above and is not intended to be chronological.[1] No attempt is made to give complete bibliographies (for which see the works cited), but important recent discussions are usually noted. Bracketed works indicate improbable or very uncertain identifications. For the sake of convenience I have usually included a date as given in *LIMC*.

Eleusinian Ploutos in Attic Vase Painting

1. Phiale mesomphalos by Douris, Malibu, Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AE.213, frgs. (M. Robertson, *Getty Vases* 5, 1991, pp. 77–98, figs. 1b, 1y; *LIMC*, Ploutos, 5). **Fig. 77** (detail). The fragment illustrated here shows Plouton, Demeter, and Kore, all seated. A child, evidently Ploutos, whose hands alone are preserved, sits on Kore's knee. Discussion, above, p. 59, n. 171. *Ca.* 490 B.C.

2. Pelike from Kerch by the Eleusinian Painter, St. Petersburg St. 1792. (*LIMC*, Ploutos, 9). See below, Eubouleus, Painting, No. 1. **Figs. 20–21**. In front, Demeter, Ploutos, and Kore. 340–330 B.C.

3. Hydria from Rhodes, Istanbul (Schefold, *UKV*, p. 18, no. 152, pls. 1, 2, fig. 26; Mylonas, Διόνυσος, pp. 112–113; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 128; Bianchi, no. 3; Metzger, *Mélanges Collart*, pp. 295–303, fig. 5; Bérard, 'Apocalypses', fig. 8; *LIMC*, Ge, 28 with pl.; Eubouleus, 8; Eileithyia, 81; Demeter, 403; Ploutos, 7). **Fig. 29**. Ge, emerging from earth, presents Ploutos, who sits on a horn of plenty, to Demeter. Kore at left with torches; Triptolemos in the center, above; a male figure with two torches, a short tunic and boots, standing to the right of Demeter. Also below, Eubouleus, Painting, No. 7. Discussion, above, pp. 92, 103–104. Mid 4th cent. B.C.

4. Pelike, Sandford-Graham Collection, now lost (Metzger, *Recherches*, p. 34, no. 2, pl. 14.1; Bianchi, no. 4; *LIMC*, Demeter, 409; Dionysos, 524; Ploutos, 10). **Fig. 25**. Hermes, Kore, Demeter, Ploutos, Dionysus, a male figure with two torches, wearing a short tunic and boots. Beazley: "of the high Kerch period contemporary with the Eleusinian pelike [here, no. 2] and the Marsyas painter."[2] See below, Eubouleus, Painting, No. 2. Discussion, above, pp. 58–59, 71, 83–84, 93, 119.

5. Lekanis cover, Athens, Fethiye Dzami 1961 VAK 790. (Metzger, *Recherches*, p. 37, no. 17, pl. 16.2; *LIMC*, Demeter, 402 with pl.; Ploutos, 6). **Fig. 3**. Mid 4th cent. B.C.

6. Lekanis cover by the Painter of Athens 1472, Tübingen, Archäologisches Museum E 183 (Nilsson, 'Gottheiten', p. 563, no. 5a; *ARV*^{2}, p. 1477, no. 7, *Para.*, p. 496, *Add.*^{2}, p. 381; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 131; Kerényi, p. 159, fig. 47; *LIMC*, Herakles, 1408; Demeter, 407; Ploutos, 8). **Fig. 30**. Also below, Iakchos, Painting, No. 6. Description, above, pp. 69, 75, 82, 84, 93. *Ca.* 340 B.C.

7. Hydria, Kerch style, Bern, Abbeg-Stiftung 3.127.73. (*LIMC*, Ploutos, 11). See below, Eubouleus, Painting, No. 8; Eumolpos, Painting, No. 5. **Figs. 22–23**. Here Ploutos is the center of attention, standing between Demeter and Kore. *Ca.* 330 B.C.

---

[1] Relief vases are listed under "Vase Painting", for the convenience of the iconographical discussion above.

[2] Letter of March 26, 1957, quoted by Metzger, *Recherches*, p. 34.

Eleusinian Ploutos in Attic Sculpture

1. Relief, Eleusis ("Great Eleusinian Relief"), now Athens, NM 126. (*LIMC*, Ploutos, 13). **Figs. 1–2.** Bibliography and discussion, above, Chap. 2. *Ca.* 430 B.C.

2. Relief, Athens, Agora S 1251. (*LIMC*, Ploutos, 14). See below, Eubouleus, Sculpture, No. 1. **Fig. 9.** Late 4th cent. B.C.

3. Relief, Athens, Agora S 1646. (*LIMC*, Ploutos, 15). See below, Eubouleus, Sculpture, No. 2. **Fig. 10.** Late 4th cent. B.C.

4. Lakrateides Relief, Eleusis, Museum 5079. (*LIMC*, Ploutos, 16). See Eubouleus, Sculpture, No. 3. **Figs. 5–6.** Discussion, above, pp. 51–53. *Ca.* 100 B.C.

Eubouleus in Attic Vase Painting: Fourth Century

1. Pelike from Kerch by the Eleusinian Painter, St. Petersburg, Hermitage St. 1792 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 1476, no. 1, *Para.*, p. 496, *Add.*^{2}, p. 381; Schefold, *UKV*, pp. 40–42, no. 368, pl. 35.1; Metzger, *Recherches*, p. 40, no. 35, pl. 24; Schefold, *Göttersage*, fig. 80; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 134; Bianchi, no. 1; *LIMC*, Eubouleus, 7; Herakles, 1403; Aphrodite, 1371 with pl.; Demeter, 404; Dionysos, 528; Ploutos, 9). **Figs. 20–21.** In the background, left of center, Eubouleus with two torches, wearing a short tunic and boots, and, top center, Triptolemos, hovering in the air in his winged chariot; in front, Demeter, Ploutos, and Kore. Rear, far left and right: Heracles and Dionysus; in front of each of them, a seated woman; on the ground next to the woman on the left, a winged victory. Discussion, above, pp. 58–59, 81–82, 84, 93, 121. 340–330 B.C.

2. Pelike from Athens, Sandford-Graham collection. See above, Ploutos, Painting, No. 4. **Fig. 25.**

3. Lekythos from Apollonia, Sofia, Archaeological Museum 7721 (Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 127; Metzger, *Recherches*, p. 41, no. 39, pl. 23; *LIMC*, Demeter, 288). **Figs. 26–28.** Hermes; Kore in lap of Demeter; Eubouleus holding two torches, in knee-length tunic, short boots; Triptolemos; Dionysus with thyrsos. Discussion, above, pp. 58–59, 71, 84, 119. Mid 4th cent. B.C.

4. Bell crater (Pourtalès) from S. Agata dei Goti, by the Pourtalès Painter, London, BM F 68 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 1446, no. 1, p. 1693, *Para.*, p. 492, *Add.*^{2}, p. 378; Metzger, *Recherches*, p. 39, no. 27; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 132; Bianchi, no. 33; Kerényi, pp. 156–157, figs. 45 A, 45 B [drawing]; *LIMC*, Eubouleus, 6; Herakles, 1402; Dioskouroi, 169 with pl.; Demeter, 399). **Fig. 24.** Demeter, Kore, Triptolemos. Background, center: two deities (one of them, Eubouleus) resembling young men, each with a single torch, wearing short tunic and boots; the figure on the left has a himation as drape. (Kerényi's statement that the deity on the right is leading the Dioscurus by the hand is not supported by the photograph or drawing.) Background, left and right: Heracles, Dioscuri (initiates), carrying initiates' wands. Discussion, above, pp. 58–59, 68, 75, 83. Mid 4th cent. B.C.

5. Relief Hydria from Cumae ("Regina Vasorum"), St. Petersburg, Hermitage St. 525 (Metzger, *Recherches*, pp. 40–41, no. 36, pls. 20–22; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 149; L. Stephani, *Die Vasen-Sammlung der kaiserlichen Hermitage*, St. Petersburg 1869, I, pp. 268–271, no. 525; Zervoudaki, pp. 36–37, no. 77; Bianchi, no. 5; Kerényi, *Eleusis*, p. 167, fig. 53 [drawing]; *LIMC*, Eubouleus, 10; Herakles, 1404; Dionysos, 526; Demeter, 405 with pl.). **Figs. 17–19.** Also Iakchos, Painting, No. 5. Eubouleus at the far right (figure no. 9 in drawing, *Ill. 9*), tunic to knees (apparently with long sleeves), low boots. A similar figure appears at the far left (figure no. 2 in drawing, *Ill. 9*). Discussion, above, pp. 78–81. *Ca.* 330 B.C.

6. Votive Pinax, Eleusis, Archaeological Museum 1267. (Metzger, *Recherches*, p. 36, no. 15, pl. 16.1; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 138; Bianchi, no. 40; *LIMC*, Demeter, 391 with pl.) **Fig. 71.** [Plouton, not preserved] with horn of plenty (the lip of the horn is on the same level as Kore's cheek), Kore, Demeter seated, a male figure wearing a short tunic and boots (the central part of the figure is missing), Triptolemos. Date: end of the fifth century (Metzger); fourth century (Schwarz). Whatever the precise date, the scene is more appropriately discussed in connection with these other examples from the fourth century.

7. Hydria from Rhodes, Istanbul. **Fig. 29.** See above, Ploutos, No. 3. Eubouleus, wearing a short tunic and boots and holding two torches, stands to the right of Demeter. Mid 4th cent. B.C.

8. Hydria, Bern, Abbeg-Stiftung 3.127.73 (Simon, *Festivals*, p. 27, pl. 9; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 154; *LIMC*, Demeter, 408 with pl.). **Figs. 22–23.** Ploutos is the center of attention, standing between Demeter and Kore. To the left of Demeter, Dionysus; to the left of him, a young man in short chiton and boots (his right hand is empty but his left is hidden behind Dionysus). To the right of Kore a woman sitting on a rock, and at the far right, hovering above, Triptolemos in his winged chariot. Discussion of the scene as a whole, above, pp. 83–84, 93; cf. below, Eumolpos, Painting, No. 5. *Ca.* 330 B.C.

[9. Relief lekythos, Athens, National Museum 2174 (Zervoudaki, pp. 17–18, pl. 10.1–3). Possibly Eubouleus: see above, p. 82.]

Eubouleus in Attic Vase Painting (cont.): Fifth Century

10. Stamnos from Orvieto by Polygnotos, Florence, Museo Archeologico 75748 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 1028, no. 8, *Add.*^{2}, p. 317; Bérard, *Anodoi*, pl. 9, fig. 33; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 101; *LIMC*, Hades, 24). **Fig. 36.** Discussion, above, pp. 71–72. 440–430 B.C.

11. Volute crater from Spina, by the Painter of Bologna 279, Ferrara, Museo Nazionale Archeologico 3031 (T 579) (*ARV*^{2}, p. 612, no. 1; *Para.*, p. 397, *Add.*^{2}, p. 268; Schefold, *Göttersage*, pp. 70–71, figs. 85–86; Beazley, *Hesperia* 24, 1955, pp. 311–312; *LIMC*, Eumolpos, 26; A.D. Trendall & T.B.L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama*, London, 1971, p. 34, no. II.7; Peschlow-Bindokat, V 95, pp. 96–97; Bérard, *Anodoi*, pp. 92–102, pl. 8). **Fig. 42.** Discussion, above, p. 72. *Ca.* 450 B.C.

12. Kylix from Vulci ("Hera-Schale"), by the Sabouroff Painter, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2685 (J. 336) (*ARV*^{2}, p. 837, no. 9; *Add.*^{2}, p. 295; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 89, pl. XII, fig. 21; *LIMC*, Eumolpos, 25). **Fig. 37.** Discussion, above, pp. 71–72. *Ca.* 450 B.C.

13. Kylix, attributed to the Sabouroff Painter, London, Leventis Collection (Sotheby, sale catalogue, 13–14.12.1982, p. 61, no. 219, fig. 219; sale catalogue, 17–18.7.1985, no. 244 (*non vidi*). **Figs. 38–41.** Discussion, above, pp. 71–72.

14. Skyphos from Tanagra, in the manner of the Jena Painter, Athens, NM 1341 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 1517, no. 10, p. 1697; *Add.*^{2}, p. 384; S. Karouzou, *BCH* 95, 1971, pp. 109–114, figs. 1–5; Peschlow-Bindokat, V 120, pp. 101–102; *LIMC*, Demeter, 388 with pl.). **Figs. 49–50.** Side A: Demeter with a torch in her left hand, ears of grain in her right. Side B: a female figure holding a torch in each hand, Kore (**Fig. 50**). Side C: a male figure holding a torch in each hand (**Fig. 49**). Discussion, above, p. 72. End of 5th cent. B.C.

Eubouleus in Sculpture

1. Relief, Athens, Agora S 1251 (H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, 17, 1948, pp. 177–178, pl. 54.2; Schauenburg, 'Pluton', pp. 59–60; *LIMC*, Demeter, 413 with pl.). **Fig. 9.** Demeter seated on a throne, holding sceptre and phiale; Kore standing with torch; Eubouleus standing, with infant Ploutos and horn of plenty on his left arm, short torch in his right hand; a family of worshippers, in smaller scale, on the right. Eubouleus wears a knee-length tunic; his right arm is bare; it is unclear whether he has boots. Also above, Eleusinian Ploutos, Sculpture, No. 2. Discussion, above, pp. 56–57. Late 4th cent. B.C.

2. Relief, Athens, Agora S 1646 (Schauenburg, 'Pluton', pp. 59–60, fig. 14; Metzger, *Recherches*, p. 41, no. 40; *LIMC*, Demeter, 414 with pl.). **Fig. 10.** Demeter seated on a rock-cut (?) seat; Kore standing, holding a torch; Eubouleus standing, carrying on his left arm a horn of plenty and the infant Ploutos. With his right hand Eubouleus seems to be holding the bottom of Kore's torch. (It is difficult to tell whether he is wearing boots.) A worshipper at the right is kneeling.[3] Also above, Eleusinian Ploutos, Sculpture, No. 3. Discussion, above, p. 57. Late 4th cent. B.C.

2a. Beschi, *LIMC*, *ad* Demeter, 414, mentions a relief similar to the preceding in the Acropolis Museum, Inv. No. 2661: O. Walter, *Beschreibung der Reliefs im kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen*, Vienna 1923, p. 66, no. 114 (with photograph). The figure who ought to be Eubouleus, however, is damaged; his short chiton (but not Ploutos) can be seen in the photograph.

3. Lakrateides Relief, Eleusis, Archaeological Museum 5079 (*LIMC*, Eubouleus, 2 with pl.; Demeter, 386). **Figs. 5, 7.** Bibliography and discussion, above, pp. 51–53, 56. Above, Eleusinian Ploutos, Sculpture, No. 4. *Ca.* 100 B.C.

4. Bust, Eleusis, now Athens, NM 181 (Bianchi, no. 31; Schwarz, 'Eubouleus', A, figs. 1, 4, 11; *LIMC*, Eubouleus, 3). Found in the "Ploutoneion", i.e. the precinct of the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα. Iakchos is also possible; above, pp. 57–58. *Ca.* 330 B.C.

5. Head, Eleusis, now NM 1839 (Schwarz, 'Eubouleus', p. 72, a, figs. 2, 5; *LIMC*, Eubouleus, 3a). Found near the Telesterion.

6. Head, Athens, NM 2650 (Schwarz, 'Eubouleus', p. 73, b, figs. 3, 6; *LIMC*, Eubouleus, 3b).

7. Head, Athens, Acropolis Museum 2394 (Schwarz, 'Eubouleus', p. 73, c; *LIMC*, Eubouleus, 3c).

---

[3] Schauenburg, 'Pluton', pp. 59–60, citing O. Walter, *ÖJhBeibl* 13, 1910, pp. 229–243, pointed out that the kneeling indicated that the deities were chthonian. F. van Straten, 'Did the Greeks kneel before their Gods?', *BABesch* 49, 1974, pp. 176–177, however, believes that deities who were kneeled to were regarded as σωτῆρες; kneeling is not indicative of the chthonian nature of the god.

8. Bust, Athens, Acropolis Museum 7285 (Schwarz, 'Eubouleus', p. 73, d; *LIMC*, Eubouleus, 3d).

9. Bust, Patras Museum 12. (Schwarz, 'Eubouleus', p. 73, e; *LIMC*, Eubouleus, 3f).

10. Bust, Athens, Agora S 2089 (Schwarz, 'Eubouleus', p. 73, f, fig. 7; *LIMC*, Eubouleus, 3e).

11. Head, Rome, Capitoline Museum 44 (Schwarz, 'Eubouleus', p. 73, g, fig. 8; *LIMC*, Eubouleus, 3g).

12. Head, Mantua, Palazzo Ducale (Schwarz, 'Eubouleus', p. 74, h, fig. 9; *LIMC*, Eubouleus, 3h).

13. Head, Tripolis, Arcadia, Museum (unpublished).[4]

14. Acephalous herm, Vatican 274, with inscription ΕΥΒΟΥΛΕΥΣ ΠΡΑΞΙΤΕΛΟΥΣ (Helbig[4], I, no. 75; *LIMC*, Eubouleus, 1).

Iakchos in Attic Vase Painting

1. Red-figure tablet from Eleusis (Ninnion Tablet), Athens, NM 11036 (Metzger, *Recherches*, pp. 31–32; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, fig. 88; Bianchi, no. 35; *LIMC*, Demeter, 392 with pl.). **Frontispiece, Fig. 73.** Some significant features: Initiates' wands, crossed, lower center, below an omphalos. Iakchos, with torches, wearing short tunic and boots, leading initiates; his wreath (stylized, no doubt of myrtle) is identical to theirs; he wears his himation as a drape, like the initiates. The goddess at the lower right is seated on the ground line, not on a throne. Discussion, above, pp. 67–68, 73–75. *Ca.* 370 B.C.

2. Stamnos by the Painter of the Carlsruhe Paris, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 03.842 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 1315, no. 2(a), *Para.*, p. 477, no. 2, *Add.*^{2}, p. 368; Burn, *Meidias*, pp. 72–73; Simon, *Festivals*, p. 28, n. 43; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 124; *LIMC*, Eumolpos, 22; Demeter, 370). **Figs. 31–32.** Description, above, pp. 68–69. End of 5th cent. B.C.

3. Hydria, Kerch style, Athens NM 17297 (Metzger, *Recherches*, p. 33, pl. 19.2; *LIMC*, Heracles, 1407; Demeter, 398 with pl.). **Fig. 33.** Herakles as initiate, sitting on his himation; Kore standing, to right, with a torch in each hand; Demeter seated on a roundish object (Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα), with a scepter in her right hand; a beardless young man, standing, to left, with a torch in each hand, short tunic, high boots, a himation draped over the tunic. 350 B.C.

4. Pourtalès krater. See Eubouleus, Painting, No. 4. **Fig. 24.** The male figure with tunic and boots on the left has a draped himation; he gestures to the initiates, the Dioscuri and Heracles. Mid 4th cent. B.C.

5. Relief hydria from Cumae ("Regina Vasorum"), St. Petersburg, Hermitage. See Eubouleus, Painting, No. 5. **Figs. 17–19.** Figure at far left with tunic and boots wears a himation as drape. *Ca.* 330 B.C.

6. Lekanis cover by the Painter of Athens 1472, Tübingen, Archäologisches Museum E 183. See Ploutos, Painting, No. 6 **Fig. 30.** Discussion, above, pp. 69, 75, 82, 84, 93. *Ca.* 340 B.C.

7. Skyphos from Capua by the Painter of the Yale Lekythos, Brussels, Musée du Cinquantenaire A10 (*ARV*^{2} p. 661, no. 86, *Add.*^{2}, p. 277; Metzger, *Recherches*, p. 28, no. 65, pl. 23.2; *LIMC*, Herakles, 1401 with pl.; Eumolpos, 24; Demeter, 357; Bianchi, no. 34). **Fig. 35.** A bearded man dressed in chiton and himation and holding torches offers one torch to Heracles as initiate, the other to Iolaos (?). A club stands in front of Heracles. Both initiates hold a mystic wand in their right hand. All three figures have wreaths, no doubt of myrtle. Discussion, above, pp. 69–70. 460 B.C.

8. Amphora, Kerch style, Cos, Archaeological Museum (Simon, 'Neue Deutung', p. 77; K. Schauenburg, *RM* 93, 1986, p. 146, pl. 40; I. Scheibler, *Jdl* 102, 1987, pp. 116–117; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 125, fig. 28; *LIMC*, Herakles, 1406; Aphrodite, 1367 with pl.; Demeter, 390 with pl. of detail, right side). **Fig. 34.** In the center Triptolemos in his winged chariot; on the left a young, beardless man, standing, to right, in a gaily colored, knee-length tunic and high boots, with a torch in each hand; behind him are the Dioscuri as initiates, above him Heracles, also as initiate. The figure with torches does not have a himation. Above Triptolemos there is an Eros, between Heracles and Demeter, who are looking at each other. On the far right Kore, holding torches, is standing; behind her, another seated initiate holding a myrtle staff. Further description, above, p. 69. *Ca.* 390 B.C.

Iakchos in Sculpture

1. Pausanias, 1.2.4 (*LIMC*, Demeter, 415): Ἐσελθόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἰκοδόμημα ἐς παρασκευὴν ἐστι τῶν πομπῶν, ἃς πέμπουσι τὰς μὲν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, τὰς δὲ καὶ χρόνον διαλείποντες. καὶ πλησίον ναός ἐστι Δήμητρος, ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτή τε καὶ ἡ παῖς καὶ δᾷδα ἔχων Ἴακχος· γέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τοίχῳ γράμ-

[4] I owe this information to the kindness of O. Palagia.

μασιν Ἀττικοῖς ἔργα εἶναι Πραξιτέλους. Cf. Clem. Al., *Protr.* 4.62: τὴν Πραξιτέλους Δήμητρα καὶ Κόρην καὶ τὸν Ἴακχον τὸν μυστικὸν θεούς ... Cf. Cic. *Verr.* 4.135 (only Iakchos mentioned).

2. Pausanias, 1.37.4: τάφος δὲ ἔστι μὲν αὐτόθι Θεοδέκτου τοῦ Φασηλίτου, ἔστι δὲ Μνησιθέου· τοῦτον λέγουσιν ἰατρόν τε ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἀγάλματα, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Ἴακχος πεποίηται. On Mnesitheos see Kirchner, *PA* 10282.

3. Statue, Eleusis, from the precinct of the Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα, Athens, NM 255. **Fig. 64**. Discussion, above, p. 70.

[4. Relief, fourth-century, Chalkis. Cf. G. Daux, 'Le Relief Eleusinien du Musée de Chalcis', *BCH* 88, 1964, pp. 433–441 (with bibliography and photograph). Only the right half of the relief is preserved, showing from left to right Plouton, Dionysus with a kantharos and thyrsos, and a worshipper. Since the inscription mentions ΤΟΙΝ ΘΕΟΙΝ, Demeter and Kore probably appeared in the missing left half. Found in Euboea, it probably belongs to a Euboean sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in which Dionysus was prominent.]

[5. Relief from Mondragone, Naples, National Museum (Metzger, *Recherches*, p. 36, no. 14; O. Palagia, *Euphranor*, Leiden 1980 [Monumenta Graeca et Romana 3], pp. 28–29, fig. 48; Bianchi, no. 25; *LIMC*, Demeter, 412 with pl.). From left to right: Triptolemos in his winged wagon; Kore, standing, carrying torches in her right hand; a matronly figure, standing, who looks like Demeter (cf. Beschi, *LIMC*, Demeter, p. 888); in the center of the relief, Demeter seated, to left, on her *kiste*. The right half of the relief consists of three male figures, who form a group which does not interact with the group on the left; the figure in the center, seated on a throne, looks like Hades (in Eleusinian terms, Theos); on the left a male figure, standing, to right, barefoot, with a chlamys, perhaps Hermes (or Eubouleus, if he originally held a torch, possibly painted on the background); the figure to the right of Hades, surely Dionysus, has a *nebris* over a short tunic and wears tall boots. Of Pentelic marble and possibly Attic workmanship, it is conceivable that the relief may have been created for a local Demeter cult near Cumae, the colony of Chalkis, or for a Demeter cult located in Attica (not at Eleusis) or near Attica, e.g. at Lerna, which possessed a Mystery cult featuring Demeter, Kore, and Dionysus, and in which Triptolemos evidently also had some role.[5] The relief does not suggest two pairs—Plouton/Kore and Theos/Thea—as on Eleusinian reliefs. If the relief does come from Eleusis, the following hypothetical interpretation seems best. The figures are: Triptolemos, Kore, Eleusis (Metzger, loc. cit.), Eubouleus (if originally he held a torch), Theos, Dionysus. The relief divides into two scenes, upper-world and underworld gods. The gods Eleusis and Dionysus present local references, the latter to his cult on the Eleusinian Akris (see Appendix 6, Part II), and perhaps also to his trip to the Underworld. 330 B.C.]

[6. Roman sarcophagus from Torre Nova, Rome, Palazzo Borghese, Spanish Embassy (Bianchi, no. 47; H. Möbius, *AbhMünch* 59, 1964, pp. 36–39; Mylonas, *Eleusis*, p. 207, fig. 84; *LIMC*, Ceres, 146; D. Kinney, 'The Iconography of the Ivory Diptych Nicomachorum-Symmachorum', forthcoming). Male figure with a torch, wearing short tunic, himation, and boots; Kore (?); Demeter; partially preserved figure (background); female figure (priestess?) with two reversed torches; hooded initiate; priest; male figure (evidently Heracles) with torch, wearing a short tunic, himation, and boots; goddess. Möbius correctly observed that the snakes, which are associated with Demeter on this sarcophagus and on the Lovatelli Urn,[6] suggest, along with other reasons, that these scenes are not taken directly from imagery of the Eleusinian Mysteries. The snake does not appear with Demeter in extant documents that directly reflect the Mysteries of Eleusis. Möbius saw this sarcophagus as a product of Ephesus and the scene an Ephesian version of an Alexandrian original.[7]

The rite which the hooded initiate is undergoing

---

[5] The cult: Nilsson, *Geschichte*, II, p. 354; Paus. 2.36.7, 37.1–2; *CIL* VI, 1780. Hierophants at Lerna: Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, pp. 42–43, no. 34. Triptolemos in Argive mythology: Strabo, 14.5.12, 16.2.5; Paus. 1.14.2.

[6] F. Sinn, *Stadtrömische Marmorurnen*, Mainz, 1987, pp. 88–90 (with bibliography).

[7] F. Turcan, *apud* Metzger, 'Valeur', p. 179, sees the work as a Pamphylian product with imagery drawn from the Greek tradition. Cf. G. Koch & H. Sichtermann, *Römische Sarkophage*, Munich 1982 (Handbuch der Archäologie), pp. 500–501, fig. 484. The motif of Demeter sitting on a hamper with a snake on its side occurs also on "Triptolemos Sarcophagi" in the Louvre and in Wilton House, England; F. Baratte, 'Le Sarcophage de Triptolème au Musée du Louvre', *RA* 1974, pp. 271–290; Koch & Sichtermann, op. cit., pp. 187–188, fig. 210 (Wilton House). The figure of Triptolemos, however, should not be taken to indicate that these scenes derive directly from an Eleusinian tradition; although originally from Attica, Triptolemos did receive cult in a few other places, including Alexandria, and in art he appears in some other local traditions; above, p. 58, n. 168.

has been thought to represent the μύησις, i.e. a preliminary initiation or purification, of a candidate for the Eleusinian Mysteries.[8] The male figure at the left, holding a torch and wearing a himation, looks very much like the figure here identified with Iakchos. But in Eleusinian scenes Iakchos appears in the company of initiates arriving at Eleusis for the principal ceremony (or just with Demeter on the Mirthless Rock, an allusion to the same event), as the god of the mystic procession to Eleusis. The preliminary purification, on the other hand, was quite independent of the procession; it evidently could be performed months in advance; and so it seems quite unlikely that Iakchos would be associated with it.[9] This scene therefore does not appear to correspond to the situation of the Eleusinian Mysteries. It may owe its iconography to a different mystery cult of Demeter (its location is unclear); or the hooded initiate perhaps provides a sufficient allusion to a mystery cult that the figure of Heracles then identifies the scene as the hero's well known initiation at Eleusis. In this context it would be hazardous to interpret the torchbearer as Eleusinian Iakchos in the same sense that he appears in Attic documents and to use the scene as primary evidence for Eleusinian myth and ritual. The artist is clearly following a different tradition from the original Attic/Eleusinian one; it is beyond the scope of the present study to investigate that tradition and to offer a definitive interpretation of this work. *Ca.* A.D. 145.]

Iakchos on Attic Coins

1. Second-century silver coins, inscribed "Phanokles-Apollonios", M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, New York 1961, pp. 252–257, nos. 697–709, 685, pls. 74–75. Iakchos, correctly identified by Kroll-Walker, Chap. II, "Athenian AE (Period IV)," n. 198, wears a short tunic and boots and holds a torch. The date of this issue would be 111/10 according to the scheme of O. Mørkholm, *ANSMN* 29, 1984, pp. 29–42 (cf. C. Habicht, *Chiron* 21, 1991, pp. 5–6).

2. Bronze coins, "later 80's–70's B.C.," festival issue for the Mysteries, Kroll-Walker, Chap. II, "Athenian AE (Period IV)," variety no. 119; Svoronos, *Trésor des monnaies d'Athènes*, pl. 25, nos. 11–12. Same figure but his torch is tied with a fillet (Kroll-Walker). Reverse: head of Kore to right, wearing a wreath of wheat (Kroll-Walker).

3. Bronze coins, A.D. 124/128 – 138, Kroll-Walker, Chap. III, "Athens AE (Period VB)," variety no. 188; Svoronos, ibid., pl. 93, nos. 32–35. Same figure as no. 1.

Eumolpos in Attic Vase Painting

1. Skyphos from Capua by Makron, London, BM E 140 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 459, no. 3, *Para.*, p. 377, *Add.*^{2}, p. 243; Shapiro, *Art and Cult*, pl. 34; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 58; *LIMC*, Eumolpos, 3; Demeter, 344). **Figs. 51–54.** 480 B.C.

2. Lekanis cover by the Painter of Athens 1442, Tübingen E 183. See above, Catalog, Ploutos, Painting, No. 6; also Iakchos, Painting, No. 6. **Fig. 30.** To the right of Demeter, Ploutos, and Kore sits a youthful male figure in a long, gaily decorated, sleeved tunic; in his left hand he holds a scepter. *Ca.* 340 B.C.

3. Hydria from Crete, Kerch style, Athens, NM 1443 (Metzger, *Recherches*, p. 39, no. 30; Bianchi, no. 7; Kerényi, p. 123, fig. 35; *LIMC*, Demeter, 396 with pl.). **Figs. 56–57.** The scene, poorly preserved, in which Dionysus, sitting on a hillside, is the focus of attention, shows just to the left of Demeter a youthful male figure in a sleeved, knee-length chiton, gaily decorated around the neck; he holds a scepter in his left hand. Discussion, above, pp. 75, 121–125. 330–320 B.C.

4. Hydria from Capua, Kerch style, Lyon, Beaux-Arts 689, formerly Tyszkiewicz Collection (Metzger, *Recherches*, p. 37, no. 18, pl. 17; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 132a; Bianchi no. 6; *LIMC*, Demeter, 400 with pl.). **Figs. 58–59.** Kore stands between Dionysus and Demeter; on her left is a male figure, with scepter, wearing a chiton which is gaily decorated around its neck, and a himation. Here too Dionysus is the focus of attentions, but he sits here directly on a rock. Discussion, above, pp. 75, 123–125. 330–320 B.C.

5. Hydria, Kerch style, Bern, Abbeg-Stiftung 3.127.73. **Figs. 22–23.** See above, Catalog, Ploutos, Painting, No. 7. The identification of Eumolpos is rather uncertain. Discussion, above, pp. 83–84. *Ca.* 330 B.C.

6. Fragment of a skyphos from Eleusis, by the Marsyas Painter, dedicated by Demetria (inscription),

---

[8] An interpretation proposed by P. Roussel, 'L' initiation préalable et le symbole éleusinien', *BCH* 54, 1930, pp. 51–74.

[9] See Clinton, 'Sacrifice', pp. 69–70; this discussion, overlooked by R.M. Simms, 'Myesis, Telete, and Mysteria', *GRBS* 31, 1990, pp. 183–195, provides significant evidence against his thesis that μύησις in the Classical period could not be a preliminary initiation. Simms' article appeared when my manuscript was already in press, and cannot be discussed here in detail.

Athens, NM 11037, Side B (*ARV*^{2}, p. 1475, no. 8; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 135; Metzger, *Représentations*, p. 240, no. 3; *LIMC*, Eumolpos, 14 with pl.; Demeter, 397). **Fig. 63.** The young man in a tunic, who holds a scepter in his right hand, ought to be Eumolpos (his left arm is not preserved; he has no himation); the fragmentary scene also shows Demeter (cf. *LIMC*, Demeter, 397), but I did not see the "bimbo" reported by Beschi, nor did Metzger. Mid 4th cent. B.C.

7. Pelike from Sicily by the Meidias Painter, New York, Metropolitan Museum 37.11.23 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 1313, no. 7, *Para.*, p. 477, *Add.*^{2}, p. 362; Burn, *Meidias*, pp. 54–55, M7, pl. 35; *LIMC*, Eumolpos, 1). Eumolpos (inscription) as infant, son of Musaios.

8. Volute crater from Etruria by the Niobid Painter, Paris, Louvre G 343 (inv. no. 3165) (*ARV*^{2}, p. 600, no. 17, *Add.*^{2}, p. 266; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 83; Dugas, pl. XXXI; *LIMC*, Eumolpos, 8; Prange, *Niobidenmaler*, N 20). Eumolpos at far right? See discussion above, p. 77. *Ca.* 450 B.C.

[**9.** Calyx crater from Spina by the Niobid Painter, Ferrara, National Museum 2891 (T313) (*ARV*^{2}, p. 602, no. 24, *Add.*, p. 130; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 80; *LIMC*, Eumolpos, 7, Demeter 354; Prange, *Niobidenmaler*, N 32). Discussion, above, p. 77. 460–450 B.C.]

10. Kylix from Vulci ("Hera-Schale") by the Sabouroff Painter, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2685, Side A (*LIMC*, Eumolpos, 9). See above, Eubouleus, Painting, No. 12. Eumolpos at far left? Discussion, above, p. 77. *Ca.* 450 B.C.

11. Stamnos by the Berlin Painter, Paris, Louvre, G 371 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 208, no. 158, *Add.*^{2}, p. 195; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 45; *LIMC*, Eumolpos, 4). Eumolpos and Eleusis possibly stand to the left of Triptolemos. Discussion, above, pp. 77–78. *Ca.* 470–465 B.C.

12. Neck amphora by the Niobid Painter, London, BM E 274 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 604, no. 53; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 79, fig. 19; Prange, *Niobidenmaler*, N 69, pls. 25, 39, 47). **Figs. 61–62.** Apparently Eumolpos. Discussion, above, p. 76.

[**13.** Volute crater from Vulci by the Altamura Painter, London BM E 469 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 589, no. 1, *Add.*^{2}, p. 264; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 73; *LIMC*, Eumolpos, 6; Prange, *Niobidenmaler*, A 1, pls. 51–52). Uncertain. *Ca.* 465–460 B.C.]

[**14.** Pelike from Veii by the Argos Painter (*ARV*^{2}, p. 288, no. 7; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 51; *LIMC*, Eumolpos, 5). Uncertain. *Ca.* 470–465 B.C.]

[**15.** Stamnos by the Triptolemos Painter, Louvre G 187 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 361, no. 2, p. 1648, *Add.*^{2}, p. 222; Metzger, *Recherches*, p. 18, no. 34, pl. V.1; Schefold, *Göttersage*, p. 59, figs. 72–73; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 53; *LIMC*, Hades, 26). Discussion, above, p. 76. *Ca.* 480 B.C.]

[**16.** Bell crater from Orvieto by the Niobid Painter, Perugia, Mus. Arch. (*ARV*^{2}, p. 603, no. 34, *Add.*^{2}, p. 267; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 77, pp. 118–119; Peschlow-Bindokat, p. 85, fig. 18; *LIMC*, Demeter, 352; Prange, *Niobidenmaler*, N 44). On the left, standing sceptered figure; on the right, Triptolemos in his winged wagon, Kore, Demeter, Hermes. The figure on the left seems to be bearded. Discussion, above, p. 78. 460–450 B.C.]

[**17.** South-Italian Pelike, Policoro Museum D 8 (A.D. Trendall, *Early South Italian Vase-Painting*, Oxford 1974, p. 38, no. 352; L. Weidauer, *AntK* 12, 1969, pp. 91–93; *idem*, *AA* 1985, pp. 195–210; *LIMC*, Eumolpos, 19; color photograph in I.T. Kakridis, ed., Ἑλληνική Μυθολογία, III, Athens 1986, p. 30, fig. 12). Discussion, above, p. 77. *Ca.* 420–410 B.C.]

[**18.** Kylix from Vulci, near the Castelgiorgio Painter, Frankfurt, Liebieghaus STV 7 (*ARV*^{2}, p. 386, *Para.*, p. 521, *Add.*^{2}, p. 229; Kron, *Phylenheroen*, pp. 68–71, pl. 6.1–2; Schwarz, *Triptolemos*, V 56, pp. 100–102, 104, figs. 11a–b; *LIMC*, Eumolpos, 20). Discussion, above, p. 77. *Ca.* 480 B.C.]

Eumolpos in Sculpture

1. Relief, Athens, from the vicinity of the Olympieion (E. Vanderpool, *AJA* 64, 1960, p. 268, pl. 73, fig. 17; Clinton, *Sacred Officials*, pp. 32–35, fig. 3; *LIMC*, Demeter, 285 with pl.). **Fig. 55.** Hierophant wearing strophion[10] and myrtle wreath;[11] in his right hand he holds a scepter, in his left stalks of grain. Early Antonine (E.B. Harrison).

[10] The strophion is an important attribute of a priest, indeed the most important, because without it he would not look like a priest (*Sacred Officials*, p. 33). It is in this sense that I once called it (loc. cit.) "the most significant element of the costume of the hierophant and daduch." We cannot therefore expect to find it in the hierophant's mythical prototype, Eumolpos. The attributes that completely identify a hierophant are strophion, myrtle crown, and scepter.

[11] J.C. Balty, 'Hiérophantes attiques d' époque im-

2. Decree relief ("Bridge Relief"), 422/1 B.C., Eleusis Museum 5093 (*IG* I^3 79; M. Meyer, *Die griechischen Urkundenreliefs* [AM–BH, 13], Berlin 1989, p. 266, A 5 [with bibliography and references to her own discussions]). **Fig. 60**. Four standing gods: Demeter, Kore holding torches, a male, to right, clasping the right hand of Athena, to left (δεξιώσις). Discussion, above, pp. 75–76.

[3. Bronze group on the Acropolis, Paus. 1.27.4 (*LIMC*, Eumolpos, 15). The figure who is fighting Erechtheus is often taken to be Eumolpos, but Pausanias stated that it was Immarados, the son of Eumolpos. In 9.30.1 he mentions a statue of Erechtheus by Myron on the Acropolis, but it is curious that if this is the same statue, he does not say that it is part of a group; hence the identification of the group with the statue by Myron seems unlikely.]

---

périale', in *Rayonnement Grec. Hommages à Charles Delboye*, Brussels 1982, pp. 263–272, proposes to identify two portrait heads, one in Brussels, the other in Athens, as hierophants. But he notes that their wreaths are of laurel (ibid., p. 266). A laurel wreath is of course impossible for a hierophant; his wreath must be myrtle (*Sacred Officials*, pp. 32–33). Therefore, if Balty's description of the wreath on these portrait heads is correct, his identification is incorrect. (His statement, op. cit., p. 271, n. 32, that I proposed to identify six portrait heads, *Sacred Officials*, pp. 33–35, I–VI, as hierophants is mistaken; see ibid., p. 35.)

List of Illustrations

Ill. 1. Plan of the sanctuary (J. Travlos, *ArchDelt* 16, 1960, p. 49, fig. 4).

Ill. 2. Cave, sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis.

Ill. 3a. *IG* I³ 386, lines 153-160.

Ill. 3b. *IG* I³ 386, lines 155-159.

Ill. 4. Plan of cave (L.A. Turner, after Noack, *Eleusis*, pl. 6).

Ill. 5. Plan of inner cave (P. Faure, *BCH* 82, 1958, p. 801, fig. 1).

Ill. 6. Mirthless Rock, front view.

Ill. 7. Noack's plan of the cave precinct (Noack, *Eleusis*, pl. 6)

Ill. 8. Mirthless Rock, side view.

Ill. 9. Drawing, relief hydria from Cumae, St. Petersburg, Hermitage 525 (after A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, I, Munich & Leipzig 1885, p. 474, fig. 520).

Ill. 10. Cave, steps in rear.

Ill. 11. Cave, rear opening.

Ill. 12. Mirthless Rock, view from rear opening in cave.

List of Figures

Frontispiece: Ninnion Tablet from Eleusis, Athens, NM 11036 (photograph: NM).

1–2. Great Eleusinian Relief, Athens, NM 126 (photographs: DAI).

3. Lekanis cover, Athens, Fethiye Dzami (photograph: C. Mauzy).

4a. Loutrophoros (detail), Malibu, Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.680 (photograph: J. Paul Getty Museum).
4b. Chous, Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, F 2661 (photograph: R. Mai).

5–7. Lakrateides Relief, Eleusis, Archaeological Museum (photographs: C. Mauzy).

8. Lysimachides Relief from Eleusis, Athens, NM 1519 (photograph: NM).

9. Relief, Athens, Agora S 1251 (photograph: Agora Excavations).

10. Relief, Athens, Agora S 1646 (photograph: Agora Excavations).

11–14. Volute crater, Stanford University Museum of Art 70.12, Dr. Hazel D. Hansen Fund (photographs: Stanford University Museum of Art).

15–16. Pelike from Orvieto, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg 2695 (photographs: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek).

17–19. Relief hydria from Cumae, St. Petersburg, Hermitage 525 (photographs: Hermitage).

20–21. Pelike from Kerch, St. Petersburg, Hermitage 1792 (photographs: 20, Hermitage; 21, after A. Furtwängler & K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Munich 1909, pl. 70).

22–23. Hydria, Bern, Abbeg-Stiftung (photographs: Abbeg-Stiftung).

24. Pourtalès crater, London, BM F 68 (photograph: BM).

25. Pelike from Athens, Sandford-Graham collection, now lost (after Metzger, *Recherches*, pl. 14.1).

26–28. Lekythos from Apollonia, Sofia, Archaeological Museum (photographs: 26–27, after Metzger, *Recherches*, pl. 23; 28, Archaeological Museum).

29. Hydria from Rhodes, Istanbul (after Reinach, *RA* 1900, p. 93).

30. Lekanis cover, Tübingen, Archäologisches Museum E 183 (photograph: Archäologisches Museum).

31–32. Stamnos, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 03.842, Francis Bartlett Collection (photograph: MFA).

33. Hydria, Athens, NM 17297 (photograph: NM).

34. Belly amphora, Cos, Archaeological Museum (photograph: Hirmer).

35. Skyphos from Capua, Brussels, Musée du Cinquantenaire A 10 (photograph: Musée du Cinquantenaire).

36. Stamnos from Orvieto, Florence, Museo Archeologico 75748 (photograph: Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana).

37. Kylix from Vulci ("Hera Schale"), Munich, Antikensammlungen 2685 (photograph: Antikensammlungen).

38–41. Kylix by the Sabouroff Painter, Leventis Collection (photographs: 38, Sotheby's; 39, after Sotheby's, Sale Catalogue 13–14.12.1982, p. 61, no. 219, fig. 219; 40–41, C. Leventis).

42. Volute crater from Spina, Ferrara, Museo Nazionale Archeologico (photograph: Museo Nazionale).

43–47. Footed dinos, Malibu, Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum 89.AE.73 (photographs: J. Paul Getty Museum).

48. Volute crater, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 68.101 (photograph: Badisches Landesmuseum).

49–50. Skyphos from Tanagra, Athens, NM 1341 (photographs: NM).

51–54. Skyphos from Capua, London, BM E 140 (photographs: BM).

55. Relief from vicinity of Olympieion, Athens, Agora Excavations (photograph: Agora Excavations).

56–57. Hydria from Crete, Athens, NM 1443 (photographs: NM).

58–59. Hydria from Capua, Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photographs: B. Lontin).

60. Decree relief, Eleusis (photograph: C. Mauzy).

61–62. Neck amphora, London, BM E 274 (photograph: BM).

63. Skyphos fragment from Eleusis, Athens, NM 11037 (photograph: NM).

64. Statue from Eleusis, Athens, NM 255 (photograph: NM).

65–66. Neck amphora, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Arthur M. Sackler Museum 1959.187, Gift of Frederick M. Watkins (photographs: Harvard University Art Museums).

67–70. Belly amphora from Trachones, Piraeus, Archaeological Museum, formerly Geroulanos collection (photographs: R. Hägg).

71. Red-figure tablet, Eleusis, Archaeological Museum 1267 (photograph: Archaeological Service).

72. Amphora from Nola, Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico H 3091 (photograph after S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou, *Die Liebe der Götter in der attischen Kunst des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Bern 1979 [AntK-BH 11], pl. 26, no. 338).

73. Ninnion Tablet from Eleusis (detail), Athens, NM 11036 (photograph: NM).

74–76. Hydria, London, BM E 183 (photographs: BM).

77. Phiale mesomphalos (detail), frg., Malibu, Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AE.213 (photograph: J. Paul Getty Museum).

78. Votive plaque from Eleusis, Athens, NM Γλυπτά 5256 (photograph: NM).

Indices

CONCORDANCE

LIMC, EUBOULEUS		CATALOG
No. 1	Eubouleus	Sculpture, no. 14
No. 2		Sculpture, no. 3
No. 3		Sculpture, no. 4
No. 3a		Sculpture, no. 5
No. 3b		Sculpture, no. 6
No. 3c		Sculpture, no. 7
No. 3d		Sculpture, no. 8
No. 3e		Sculpture, no. 10
No. 3f		Sculpture, no. 9
No. 3g		Sculpture, no. 11
No. 3h		Sculpture, no. 12
No. 4	Iakchos	Sculpture, [no. 5]
No. 6		Painting, no. 4
No. 7	Eubouleus	Painting, no. 1
No. 8		Painting, no. 7
No. 9	Iakchos	Painting, no. 1
No. 10, left figure		Painting, no. 5
No. 10, right figure	Eubouleus	Painting, no. 5
No. 11	Iakchos	Sculpture, [no. 6]
No. 12	Eumolpos	Painting, no. 4
No. 13		Painting, no. 3
No. 14		Painting, no. 2
No. 15		Uncertain (p. 27, n. 62)
No. 16		(Evidently Heracles; pp. 80–81)
No. 17		(Heracles)
No. 18		(Perhaps Heracles)
No. 19		Uncertain

LIMC, EUMOLPOS		
No. 1	Eumolpos	Painting, no. 7
No. 3		Painting, no. 1
No. 4		Painting, no.11
No. 5		Painting, [no. 14]
No. 6		Painting, [no. 13]
No. 7		Painting, [no. 9]
No. 8		Painting, no. 8

No. 9		Painting, no. 10
No. 10		Painting, no. 2
No. 11		Painting, no. 3
No. 12		Painting, no. 4
No. 13		Painting, no. 5
No. 14		Painting, no. 6
No. 15		Sculpture, [no. 3]
No. 19		Painting, [no. 17]
No. 20		Painting, [no. 18]
No. 21		Above, p. 91, n. 146
No. 22	Iakchos	Painting, no. 2
No. 23		(Daduch)
No. 24	Iakchos	Painting, no. 7
No. 25	Eubouleus	Painting, no. 12
No. 26		Painting, no. 11
No. 27		Painting, no. 1
No. 28		Painting, no. 7
No. 29	Iakchos	Painting, no. 6
No. 30, left figure		Painting, no. 5
No. 30, right figure	Eubouleus	Painting, no. 5
No. 31, left figure	Iakchos	Painting, no. 4
No. 31, right figre	Eubouleus	Painting, no. 4

LIMC, IAKCHOS

No. 2	Iakchos	Sculpture, no. 1
No. 2a		Sculpture, [no. 6]: evidently Heracles
No. 2b		Sculpture, [no. 5]: Dionysus
No. 3		Sculpture, [no. 4]: Dionysus
No. 4		(Dionysus)
No. 5	Iakchos	Sculpture, no. 2
No. 7		(Ploutodotas, i.e. Plouton; cf. p. 109, no. 43)
No. 8		(Dionysus; see p. 91, n. 146)

COLLECTIONS

(Only works that receive significant discussion have been indexed; of the works listed on pp. 107–110 only those discussed elsewhere have been included here)

Athens, Acropolis Museum
- 2394 marble head — 135 (no. 7)
- 2661 marble relief — 135 (no. 2a)
- 7285 marble head — 136 (no. 8)

Athens, Agora Excavations
- S 1251 marble relief — 49, 56–57, 83, 92, 104, 134 (no. 2), 135 (no. 1) (*Fig. 9*)
- S 1646 marble relief — 27, 49, 56–57, 83, 92, 104, 134 (no. 3), 135 (no. 2) (*Fig. 10*)
- S 2089 marble bust — 136 (no. 10)
- marble relief — 75–76, 139 (no. 1) (*Fig. 55*)

Athens, Fethiye Dzami
- 1961 VAK 790 RF lekanis cover frg. — 50, 83, 93–94, 103–104, 133 (no. 5) (*Fig. 3*)

Athens, National Museum
- 1301 RF lekythos — 108 (no. 23), 111
- 1341 RF skyphos — 72, 78, 135 (no. 14) (*Figs. 49–50*)
- 1443 RF hydria — 75, 121–125, 138 (*Figs. 56–57*)
- 2174 relief lekythos — 58, 82, 135 (no. 9)
- 11036 RF pinax (Ninnion) — 67–68, 73–75, 80, 84–85, 90, 121–122, 136 (no.1) (Frontispiece, *Fig. 73*)
- 11037 RF skyphos — 138 (no. 6) (*Fig. 63*)
- 17297 RF hydria — 27, 69, 121, 136 (no. 3) (*Fig. 33*)
- G 28 RF crater — 118
- RF lekythos — 118
- Γλυπτά 126 marble relief — 38–55, 83, 91–94, 103, 134 (no. 1) (*Figs. 1–2*)
- Γλυπτά 181 marble bust — 57–58, 70, 135 (no. 4)
- Γλυπτά 255 marble statue — 70, 137 (no. 3) (*Fig. 64*)
- Γλυπτά 1519 marble relief (Lysimachides) — 18, 22, 51, 112 (*Fig. 8*)
- Γλυπτά 1839 marble head — 58, 135 (no. 5)
- Γλυπτά 2650 marble head — 135 (no. 6)
- Γλυπτά 5256 marble plaque — 90 (*Fig. 78*)

Berlin, Staatliche Museen
- 3412 RF Boeotian skyphos — 45
- F 2661 RF chous — 53 (*Fig. 4b*)

Bern, Abbeg-Stiftung
- 3.127.73 RF hydria — 58, 75, 83–84, 87, 93, 102–103, 121, 133 (no. 7), 134 (no. 8), 138 (no. 5) *Figs. 22–23*)

Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico
- 236 RF crater — 117

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
- 03.842 RF stamnos — 49, 68–69, 83, 136 (no. 2) (*Figs. 31–32*)
- 03.877 RF lekanis cover — 27

Brussels, Musée du Cinquantenaire
A10 RF skyphos — 69–70, 72, 136 (no. 7) (*Fig. 35*)

Cambridge (Mass.), Sackler Museum, Harvard University
1959.187 RF amphora — 43, 106, 109 (no. 38) (*Figs. 65–66*)

Cannes, private collection
RF amphora — 108 (no. 26b), 111

Chalkis, Archaeological Museum
marble relief — 64, 137 (no. 4)

Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek
1430 marble relief — 41
2695 RF pelike — 44 (*Figs. 15–16*)

Cos, Archaeological Museum
RF amphora — 69, 83, 121–122, 136 (no. 8) (*Fig. 34*)

Delphi, Archaeological Museum
11.424 marble statue — 105

Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
Z.V. 1050 marble relief — 33
marble statue — 105

Durham (North Carolina), Duke University Art Museum
RF crater — 118–119

Eleusis, Museum
1267 votive pinax — 58, 111, 121–122, 134 (no. 6) (*Fig. 71*)
5065 marble relief frg. — 70
5068 marble relief frg. — 125
5079 marble relief — 18, 22, 51–57, 91, 104, 111–112, 114–115, 134 (no. 4), 135 (no. 3) (*Figs. 5–7*)
5093 marble decree relief — 75–76, 140 (no. 2) (*Fig. 60*)
5235 pedimental sculpture — 119
BF vase — 119
RF skyphos — 118

Ferrara, Museo Nazionale Archeologico
2891 (T 313) RF crater — 77, 117–118, 139 (no. 9)
3031 (T 579) RF crater — 72, 135 (no. 11) (*Fig. 42*)

Florence, Museo Archeologico
75748 RF stamnos — 71–72, 102, 135 (no. 10) (*Fig. 36*)
80.190 RF stamnos — 108 (no. 26a), 111

Frankfurt, Liebieghaus
STV 7 RF kylix — 43, 77, 117, 139 (no. 18)

Istanbul, Archaeological Museum
RF hydria — 58, 92, 103–104, 133 (no. 3), 134 (no. 7) (*Fig. 29*)

Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum
68.101 RF crater — 106–107, 109 (no. 35), 111, 114–115 (*Fig. 48*)

London, British Museum
E 82 RF kylix — 105, 109 (no. 44)
E 140 RF skyphos — 64, 75, 77–78, 124–125, 138 (no. 1) (*Figs. 51–54*)
E 183 RF hydria — 62, 111, 112–113, 118–119 (*Figs. 74–76*)
E 274 RF amphora — 76, 139 (no. 12) (*Figs. 61–62*)
E 469 RF crater — 77, 139 (no. 13)
F 68 RF crater — 58–59, 68, 75, 83, 121, 134 (no. 4), 136 (no. 4) (*Fig. 24*)

London, Leventis collection
RF kylix — 71–72, 135 (no. 13) (*Figs. 38–41*)

Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts
689 RF hydria — 75, 123–125, 138 (no. 4) (*Figs. 58–59*)

Malibu (California), J. Paul Getty Museum
81.AE.213 RF phiale frgs. — 58, 59, 92, 103–104, 133 (no. 1) (*Fig. 77*)
86.AE.680 Apulian loutrophoros — 50, 91 (Fig. 4a)
89.AE.73 RF footed dinos — 106–107, 111, 115 (*Figs. 43–47*)

Mantua, Palazzo Ducale
marble head — 136 (no. 12)

Munich, Antikensammlungen
2685 RF kylix — 71–72, 77, 117, 135 (no. 12), 139 (no. 10) (*Fig. 37*)
7518 RF lekythos — 47

Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico
H 309 RF amphora — 62, 109 (no. 77), 114 (*Fig. 72*)
H 3245 RF crater — 125
marble relief (Mondragone) — 64, 137 (no. 5)

New York, Metropolitan Museum
28.57.23 RF crater — 33, 90, 118
37.11.23 RF pelike — 139 (no. 7)

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum
1956–355 RF crater — 30, 91

Paris, Cabinet des Médailles
451 RF hydria — 27–28, 121

Paris, Louvre
CA 2190 relief lekythos — 80–81, 102
G 187 RF stamnos — 76, 111, 117, 139 (no. 15)
G 209 RF amphora — 108 (no. 20), 111
G 343 (inv. no. 3165) RF crater — 77, 139 (no. 8)
G 371 RF stamnos — 77–78, 139 (no. 11)

Patras, Archaeological Museum
12 marble bust — 136 (no. 9)

Perugia, Museo Archeologico
RF crater — 78, 139 (no. 16)

Piraeus, Archaeological Museum
(formerly Geroulanos collection) RF amphora — 43, 108 (no. 29), 111 (*Figs. 67–70*)

Policoro, Museo Archeologico
D 8 South-Italian pelike — 77, 139 (no. 17)

Reggio di Calabria, Museo Archeologico
4001 BF amphora frg. — 42, 70

Stanford, Stanford University Museum of Art
70.12 RF crater — 14, 16, 26, 27, 101, 118, 121, 124–125 (*Figs. 11–14*)

Rome, Capitoline Museum
44 marble head — 136 (no. 11)

Rome, market
RF pelike — 78, 139 (no. 14)

Rome, Palazzo Borghese, Spanish Embassy
marble sarcophagus (Torre Nova) — 64, 137 (no. 6)

Rome, Vatican Museum
274 marble herm — 136 (no. 14)

St. Petersburg
St. 525 relief hydria — 58, 68, 78–82, 84–85, 93, 117, 121, 134 (no. 5), 136 (no. 5) (*Figs. 17–19*)
St. 1792 RF pelike — 58–59, 81–82, 84, 93, 102–103, 117, 121–122, 133 (no. 2), 134 (no. 1) (*Figs. 20–21*)
1889.1 RF crater — 69

Sofia, Archaeological Museum
7721 RF lekythos — 27, 58–59, 70–71, 84, 119, 134 (no. 3) (*Figs. 26–28*)

Tripolis (Arcadia), Archaeological Museum
marble head — 136 (no. 13)

Tübingen, Archäologisches Museum
E 183 RF lekanis cover — 69, 75, 82, 84, 93, 133 (no. 6), 136 (no. 6), 138 (no. 2) (*Fig. 30*)

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum
I 1095 marble relief — 91
IV 580 RF hydria — 102

Würzburg, Wagner-Museum
L 529 RF crater — 118
L 535 RF hydria — 62, 109 (no. 81),

(Berlin), lost
RF lekanis cover — 118–119

(Sandford-Graham Collection), lost
RF pelike — 58–59, 71, 83–84, 93, 119, 133 (no. 4), 134 (no. 2) (*Fig. 25*)

PASSAGES

(not including those on pp. 107–110)

Aelian, *Varia Historia*, frg. 10 127
Aelius Aristides,
Dionysus
10 67
Eleusinian Oration
3 90
4 47
Panathenaic
257 Oliver 85
Aeneas Tacticus, 4.8–11 29
Aeschylus, frg. 279 63
[Antagoras], Gow-Page, no. 2 128 (no. 4)
Antiphilus, *A.P.* 9.298 86, 89
Apollodorus, *On the Gods*, *FGrHist* 244, F100b 86
[Apollodorus], *Bibliotheca*
1.5.1 16, 22, 30, 98
1.5.1–2 100–101
Apuleius,
Met.
11.21 85
11.23 86
Aristophanes,
Equites 785a (Schol.) 16, 21
Thesmophoriazusae
295–300 31, 54
296 60
330 35
607–608 31
690–754 31
Plutus
727 54
842–845 68
Ranae
324 (Schol.) 67
325–403 64–67, 93, 115
479 (Schol.) 57, 67
Vespae 804 (Schol.) 33
Aristotle, frg. 15 86
Arrian, *Anabasis* 2.16.3 67
Athenaeus,
4.167D 128 (no. 5)
5.198A 50
5.213D 129 (no. 8)
6.233E 54
7.325C–D 120

Bacchylides, *Paean* 4.61–62 92

Callimachus,
Hymn to Apollo 110–112 34
Hymn to Demeter 15–16 34
Cicero,
De Legibus 2.36 95
Verr.
4.99 35
4.135 137 (no. 2)
2.4.49.110 46
Clement of Alexandria,
Protrepticus
2.12 85
2.17.1 32
2.21.1 91
2.21.2 35
2.35.3 101
4.62 66, 137 (no. 2)
Cornutus, *De Natura Deorum* 59 67
Crinagoras, *A.P.* 11.42 95
Cyprian of Antioch, *Praxis* 2.1, *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept. VII (48), p. 204f. 55

Demetrius of Phaleron, *FGrHist* 228, frg. 35 54
Demosthenes,
De Corona 129 106
Patmos schol. (*BCH* 1, 1877, p. 142) 106
Diodorus Siculus, 5.4.2 34
Diogenianus, I, 8, *Paroemiographi Graeci*, p. 181 18

Epictetus, *Diss.* 1.4.30 Schenkel 58
Eudocia, *Logoi* 2.14–22, p. 48 Ludwich 55
Euripides,
Helen 1341–1345 28
Ion
1074–1086 28
1208–1209 93
Supplices
54–55 93
88 126, 128 (no. 3)
987–990 17

Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 39.4 85

Hegesander, *FGrHist* 415a F8 128
Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 9.9.5 131 (no. 15)
Heraclitus, frg.
14 DK 86
25 86
Hermogenes, *Inv.* 2.5.15 131 (no. 14)
Herodotus, 9.65 126, 128 (no. 1)
Hesiod,
Theogony
450–452 33
969–974 54, 91
Hesychius, α 31 Latte 18
s.v. ἀνάκτορον 127
s.v. πλοῦτος 54

Himerius, *Orat.*
41.1 49
69.51 131 (no. 18)
Hippolytus, *Ref.*
5.7.34 92
5.8.39–41 91–94
5.8.42 86
5.8.44 86
Homeric Hymn to Demeter
145 101
191–194 75
200–201 27, 97
211 35
424 116
436 33
438–440 33
478–479 13
486–489 53–54, 59, 93
Hyginus, *Fabulae* 147 32, 98, 101

Idomeneus of Lampsacus, *FGrHist* 338 F 2 87
Inscriptions
CIG 1948 58
FdD
III, 2, 15 70
III, 4, 147 63
Hesperia
11, 1942, p. 75, no. 38 20
p. 265, no. 51 20
28, 1959, p. 284, no. 12 20
35, 1966, pp. 275–276, no. 2 123
IG I³
5 47, 76, 83, 91, 116, 117
6 49
78 47, 56, 114, 117
79 126
386 21, 126
387 126
IG II²
140 47
847 28
949 124
956 38
1034 70
1092 47, 117
1185 125
1186 125
1187 125
1188 125
1189 125
1191 128
1192 125
1194+ 125
1231 20
1424 63
1425 63
1429 63
1437 63
1363 60
1552a 129 (no. 7)
1672 18–22
1933 20
1934 20
1935 20
2464 20
2845 125
3090 125
3639 75
3658 122
3705 47
3709 126–127, 130 (no. 10), 131 (no. 11)
3764 131 (no. 12)
3811 127, 130 (no. 10)
4077 127, 131 (no. 11)
4218 126–127, 131 (no. 11)
4615 18, 56
4639 90
4683 18, 51
4701 18, 51–57
4709 31
4717 31
4751 21
4755 31
4967 31
5014 31
5077 122
IG III 3851 56
IG IV
686–691 52
1609 52
IG V, 2, 289 58
IG XI 287A, 69 60
IG XII, 5,
227 60
677 60
IG XII, 7,
76 60
77 60
InsDélos 2552 129 (no. 6)
LAM 50 122
LSCG
63 63
96 60
LSS
10 63, 101, 117
65 49
Sacred Officials, p. 51 86, 122–123
SEG
XI 188 60
XVI 478 60
XVIII 343 60
XIX 253 129
XXVI 238 56
821 95
XXX 93 86
XXXV 362 58, 122–123

Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 28 14, 44, 72, 78

Lactantius, *Div. Just.* 23 85
Lactantius Placidus *ad Theb.* 2.382 & M2.96ff. 32, 101
Libanius, *Decl.* 12.28 & frg. 50.3 132 (no. 21)
Lucian,
Cataplus 22 86
Dial. Meret. 2.1 35
Schol. 275.23–24 Rabe 34
Schol. 275.25–276.3 59

Marmor Parium, *FGrHist* 239 ep. 15 76
Maximus of Tyre, 39.3 131 (no. 16)
Melanthius, *On the Mysteries*, *FGrHist* 326 F2 120
Menander, *Epitrepontes* 249–250 35

Nicander, *Theriaca* 484c (Schol.) 101
Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*
27.285–286 112–113
31.66–69 66
48.962–965 66

Orphica,
Argonautica 729ff. 28
Hymn
Proem. 32–33 61
18.12 60
18.14–15 22, 97
41.5–8 72
Ovid, *Fasti*
4.502–504 16
4.506 26
4.539–560 101

Panyassis, frg. 17 Matthews 101
Papyrus
PapAnt I, 1950, No. 18 58
Pausanias
1.2.4 64, 136 (no. 1)
1.14.2 56
1.27.4 140 (no. 3)
1.28.5 123
1.28.6 106
1.28.7 20
1.37.4 137 (no. 2)
1.38.4 106
1.38.6 16, 27, 48, 116, 124
1.43.2 18
2.14.4 131 (no. 13)
2.35.10 51–52
2.35.9 52
6.25.2 63
8.42.1–4 26
9.30.1 140
Philodamus, *Coll. Alex.*, p. 166, lines 27–36 66
Philostratus,
Vitae Sophistarum 103 Kayser 130 (no. 10)
Photius, α 148 18
Bibliotheca 319b.19–22 18
Pindar,
O.
2.53–56 93
13.10 92
Paean 1.6 50
frg. 137 85–86
Plato,
Cratylus 403A 63
Phaedrus
249D–250C 89
254B 89
[Plato], *Axiochus* 371E 37
Plutarch,
Camillus 19 67
De Iside et Osiride 15–16 31–32, 35
De prof. in virt. 81D–E 129
De superst. 169E 127
Pericles 13.7 126, 129 (no. 9)
Themistocles 15 66
Theseus
10.5 43
30.5 43
Timoleon 8 61
frg. 178 (= Stobaeus, 4.52.49) 85, 89–90
Poetae Melici Graeci, 885 50, 54, 91
Pollux, 9.15 127
Porphyry,
De Antro Nympharum
6 61
18 34
ad Il. 1.333.22 63
Posidonius, 153.100–103 Edelstein-Kidd 129
Proclus,
In R.
1.125.3–22 Kroll 85
1.185.3–4 90
2.108.17–24 94
2.185.11–12 95
In Ti.
3.176.30D 92

Servius, *ad Georg.* 1.19 32, 101
Sopater, III,
114.23–115.2; 118.20–22; 121.24–26; 123.24 Walz 131 (no. 17)
Sophocles,
Antigone
1115–1116 66
1119–1121 66, 125
1151 65–66
O.C.
100–101 26
1050–1052 37

frg.
757 Radt 128 (no. 2)
959 66
Soranus, *Gynecology* II.2.2 35
Stobaeus, 4.52.49 85, 89–90
Strabo,
3.2.9 54
10.3.10 65, 67
Synesius, *Dion* 6 Terzaghi 132 (no. 19)

Themistius, *Orat.*
5.71A 132 (no. 20)
20.235C 132 (no. 20)
30.351B 54
Theocritus (Schol.) 10.19a, p. 230 Wendel 54
Theophrastus, Περὶ Εὐσεβείας,
p. 148, Pötscher 90

Xenophon, *Hellenica* 6.3.2–6 43, 46, 69

Zenobius, I, 7, *Paroemiographi Graeci*, p. 3 18

GENERAL

(The list, pp. 107–110, and the Catalogs, pp. 133–140, have not been included in this index.)

Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα, 14–29, 43, 63, 70, 78–81, 83–85, 87–89, 97–98, 117, 121–122
Acropolis (Athens), 21
adyton, 127–128
Agrigento, "Santuario Rupestre", S. Biagio, 34
aischrologia, 63
Alcibiades, 91, 132
Alexander the Great, 57
altar-priest, 76
Anthion Well, 35
Areopagus, 20–21
Akris at Eleusis, 81
Amphitrite, 92, 124
Anaktoron, 126–132
  see also Telesterion
Anodos of Kore, 26, 72, 83–89
Aphrodite, 72, 78, 92
Apollo, 33, 76, 122, 125
  altar of (Agora), 21
Ares, 92
Aristagora, 128
Aristophanes, 125
Arrhetophoria, 32
Artemis, 33, 76, 116
Artemis Aristoboule, 21
Artemis Epipyrgidia, 116
Artemis Hekate, 116
Artemis Propylaia, 116
Asclepius, 41, 91
Athena, 69, 75–77, 78–83, 114
Athena Horia, 122–123
Attis, 94

"bakchos": *see* mystic staff
Βάκχος, 65–67, 70
Baubo, 30, 98
birth of a child in the Mysteries, 91–94
Brimo, 91–94
Byblos, 31–32, 35

Callichoron Well, 13, 22, 27–30, 34–37, 63, 98, 128
Catana, Thesmophoria at, 35
Celeae, 131
Centaurs, 93
Cephisodotus: *see* Eirene
Charites, 28, 31
chlamydion, 71
"chthonian", 61–63
Corinth, sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, 34
Cos, sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, 34
Costobocs, 127
Cothonea, 32
Creusa, 93

daduch, 64–65, 67, 69, 70, 127
Demeter Cthonia, 51–52
Demeter Malophoros, 34, 61
Demeter Melaina, 26
Demetrios, grandson of Demetrius of Phaleron, 128
Demophon, 13, 30–34, 87, 97–98
Didyma, 122
Dionysia, 99, 124–125
Dionysus, 26, 64–67, 69–70, 78–83, 89, 92, 123–125
Dioscuri, 49, 68, 69, 82–83
drama, sacred, 84–95

Eirene of Cephisodotus, 57, 104
ἐκπληξις, 86
Eleusinia, 83
Eleusinion in the City, 20–21, 123
Eleusis
  cave, 14–26
  "Ploutonion", 18–21
  Propylaea, Greater, 16
Eleusis (god), 100
Eleusis (goddess), 50, 77–78, 106, 124
Empousa, 87
Eniautos, 50
Epoptes, 86, 89, 94
Erechtheus, 77
Erinys, 86
Eubouleus, 18, 22, 64, 67–68, 70–73, 78–84, 89, 96–97, 111, 114
  torch(es), 73, 96
Eukles (god), 73
Eumolpidae, 75, 101–102
Eumolpos, 13, 64, 69, 75–78, 83, 96, 123–125

fasting, 34
Francavilla Marittima, 34, 58

Ge, 20, 92
Gela, Thesmophorion at Bitalemi, 34
Gephyrismos, 13, 30, 63
grain, transfer of, 44, 76
gylloi, 122–123

Hades, 16, 22, 51–52, 61–63, 72, 105–111, 114–115
Hadrian, 59
Haloa, 99
Hekate, 13, 26, 33–34, 62, 87, 98, 112, 116–120, 122
Helios, 32, 98
Henna, 46
Heracles, 43, 49, 68, 69, 78, 81–84, 89, 105
Hermes, 20, 31, 33, 71, 78, 83–84, 122, 125

Hermes Enagonios, 83, 125
Hermione, 51–52
heroes, cult of, 38
hieronymy, 122
hierophant, 13, 64, 69, 75–76, 127, 130–132
hierophantid, 89, 131
himation, 67–68, 69
Hippoth(o)on, 77, 106
Hippothontis, 106
Homeric Hymn to Demeter, 7, 13–14, 28–37, 80, 82, 96–99, 113
hydriai, small votive, 34
Hymnagogoi, 123

Iakchagogos, 65
Ἴακχος, 65–66
Iakchos, 28, 58–59, 64–75, 78–84, 91, 96
  on coins, 138
  Reception of, 28, 37, 65–66
  torch(es), 68, 73
Iambe, 28, 30, 32, 97–98
Iasion, 69
Ἱερεὺς ἐπὶ βωμῶι, 76
Ἱερὸς Λίθος, 84, 122–123
Initiate from the Hearth, 49, 55, 63
Ion, 93
Isis, 31–32, 35, 131

Kalamaia, 106
Kalamaion, 106
Kalamites, 106
Kalathos, 35, 73
Kallias, 69
Kallidike, 101
Kalligeneia, 31, 33, 98
Karpoi, 53
Keleos, 36, 77, 100, 112
  Celeus, 32
Keryx, 78
Klymenos, 51–52
Koroibos, 129
Kourotrophos, 31–34, 36–37, 63, 92, 98, 100–102, 119
Kykeon, 35, 98

lamentations, 85
Lenaia, 67
Leto, 33
Lithophoros, 122–123
Locri, 58
Locrian Pinakes, 72–73

Macedonians, 57
Maenads, 65–66, 123–125
marriage, 62
μέγαρα, 56, 63, 112, 127
Megaron, 127
Melite, 20
Metaneira, 36, 87, 100, 112–113
Miletus, 122–123
Mirthless Rock: see Ἀγέλαστος Πέτρα
Mithraic cults, 89
Molpoi, 122
Muses, 28
myrtle staff: see mystic staff
μύησις, 138
Mystagogos, 86
Mysteria, meaning of the word, 86
Mysteries
  antiquity of, 29–37
  beginning of, at Eleusis, 27–28, 37
  sacred drama, 84–95
Mystes, 86, 89–90, 94
mystic staff, 27, 49, 68, 84, 122

Nesteia, 34
Neoptolemos son of Antikles of Melite, 20
Nike, 53, 117
Ninnion, 67, 74
Nysa, 14

omphalos, 121–123
Opaion, 129
Osiris, 31–32, 131

Pamphos, 36
Pan, 26
  cave of (Athens), 21
Panathenaic amphoras, 42, 57, 105
Pandora, 72
Panyassis, 100–101
Papasilenos, 124
Parthenion Well, 28–29, 35, 98
Parthenos, 26, 101
πάθος, 86, 94–95
Persephone, 51, 61–63, 72–73, 105–110, 114–115
Phigaleia, 26
piglet, 49, 63, 78
Pirithous, 93
Plemochoai, 21, 74–75, 80, 84, 122
Plouton, 51–52, 59–63, 76, 91, 92, 96, 98, 105–113, 114
  sanctuary of, 18–21, 31
Ploutos, 31, 49–57, 59, 61, 63, 81–84, 91–94, 96
  age of, 103–104
Pompeion, 64
Pom(po)s, 26, 124
Poseidon, 77–78, 92, 124
Poseidon Pater, 116
Potnia, 91–93
Praxagora, 127
Praxiteles, 58, 64
priestess of Demeter, 29–30, 101–102
priests
  at Eleusis, 29–30, 122, 127

Prosdektos (M. Aurelius Lithophoros Prosdektos), 122
Ptolemy II Philadelphus, 50
rape, 62, 85
Rharian field, 123
Rhea, 78, 82

"Sacred House," 119–120
Sacred Objects, 90
Sacred Stone, 84, 122–123
Sacred Way, 73
Salamis, *Eiresia Petra*, 16
Samothrace, 57
Sarapis, 107
Scirophoria, 32
secrecy, 90–91
Selinus
  sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros, 34, 61
  sanctuary of Zeus Meilichios, 61
Semnai, sanctuary of, 20
Sophocles (daduch), 70
Sophocles (playwright), 125
Stone of Injury, 123
Stone of Ruthlessness, 123
σύνθημα, 35
Syracuse, Cyane, 34

tainia, 71
Tazza Farnese, 45
Telesidromos, 83
Telesterion, 74–75, 77, 85–90, 119, 120, 126–132
  images within, 89–90
  Mycenaean, 29
Thea, 13, 18, 51–52, 61–63, 65, 71–73, 79–81, 95, 96, 106–112, 114–115
Themistokles (daduch), 70
Theophrastos (daduch), 70
Theos, 13, 18, 51–52, 61–63, 71–73, 96, 106–112, 114–115
Theseus, 16–17, 37, 43, 93
Thesmophoria, 29–37, 56, 59–63, 94, 97–99, 101–102, 111–112, 118–120
Thesmophoroi, 31
Threptos, 101
throne, hierophantic, 77
Triptolemos, 26, 32, 38–59, 71, 77–84, 89, 97, 106, 111–113, 117–119, 124, 125
  as child, 100–102
  on coins, 46
  invitation of, to Heracles and Dioscuri, 69
  juvenescence of, 69–70
  sanctuary of, 48–49
  spondophoros, 80
Tyche, 53

Underworld, 60–63, 64, 71–73, 94–95, 96, 105–112, 114–115
ὑποχθόνιος, 61–63

φάσματα, 89–90

Xenocles of Acharnae (daduch), 70
Xenocles of Cholargos, 129
Xenocles son of Xenis of Sphettos, 128
χθόνιος, 61–63
Χρυσός, 53

Zeus, 32, 36, 77, 98, 124
Zeus Bouleus, 58–61
Zeus Chthonios, 60
Zeus Eubouleus, 58–61
Zeus Horios, 122–123
Zeus Katachthonios, 61
Zeus Meilichios, 61

Plates

Fig. 1. Great Eleusinian Relief, Athens, NM.

Fig. 2. Great Eleusinian Relief, detail.

Fig. 3. Lekanis cover, Athens, Fethiye Dzami. Ploutos, Painting, no. 5.

Fig. 4a. Detail, Loutrophoros by the Painter of Louvre MNB 1148, Malibu, Collection of the J, Paul Getty Museum.

Fig. 4b. Chous, Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

Fig. 5. Lakrateides Relief, Eleusis, Archaeological Museum.

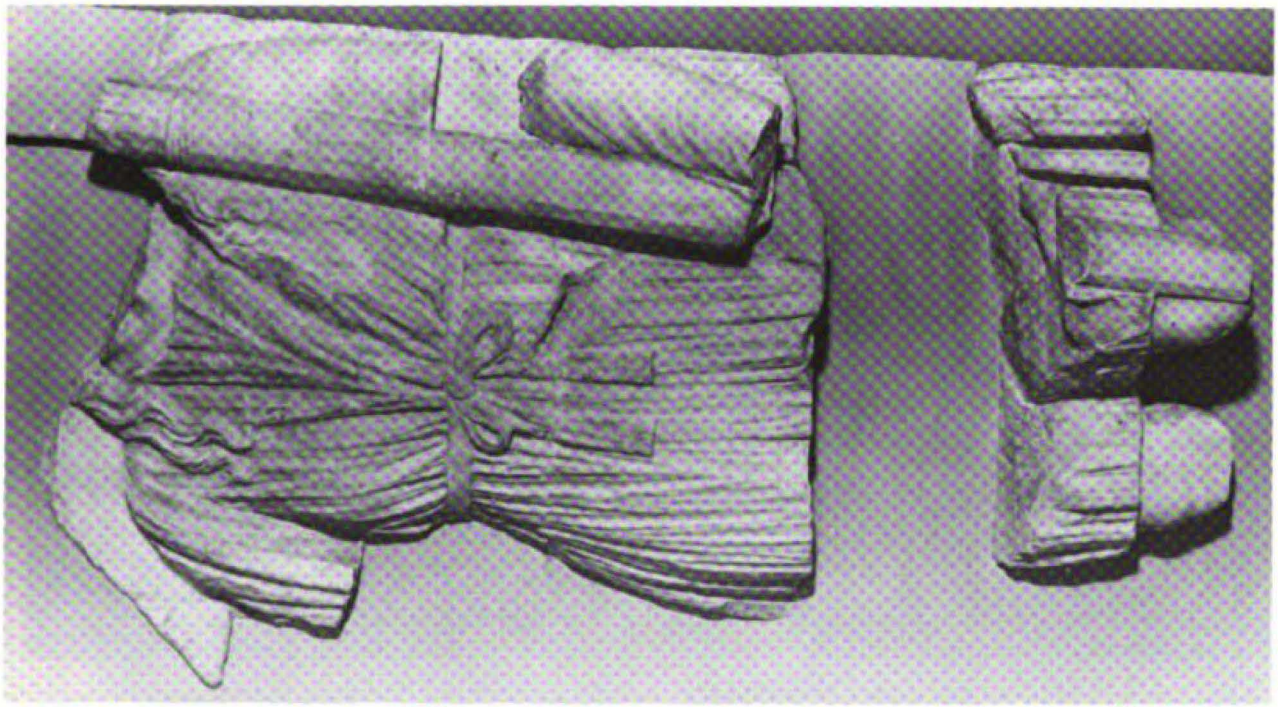


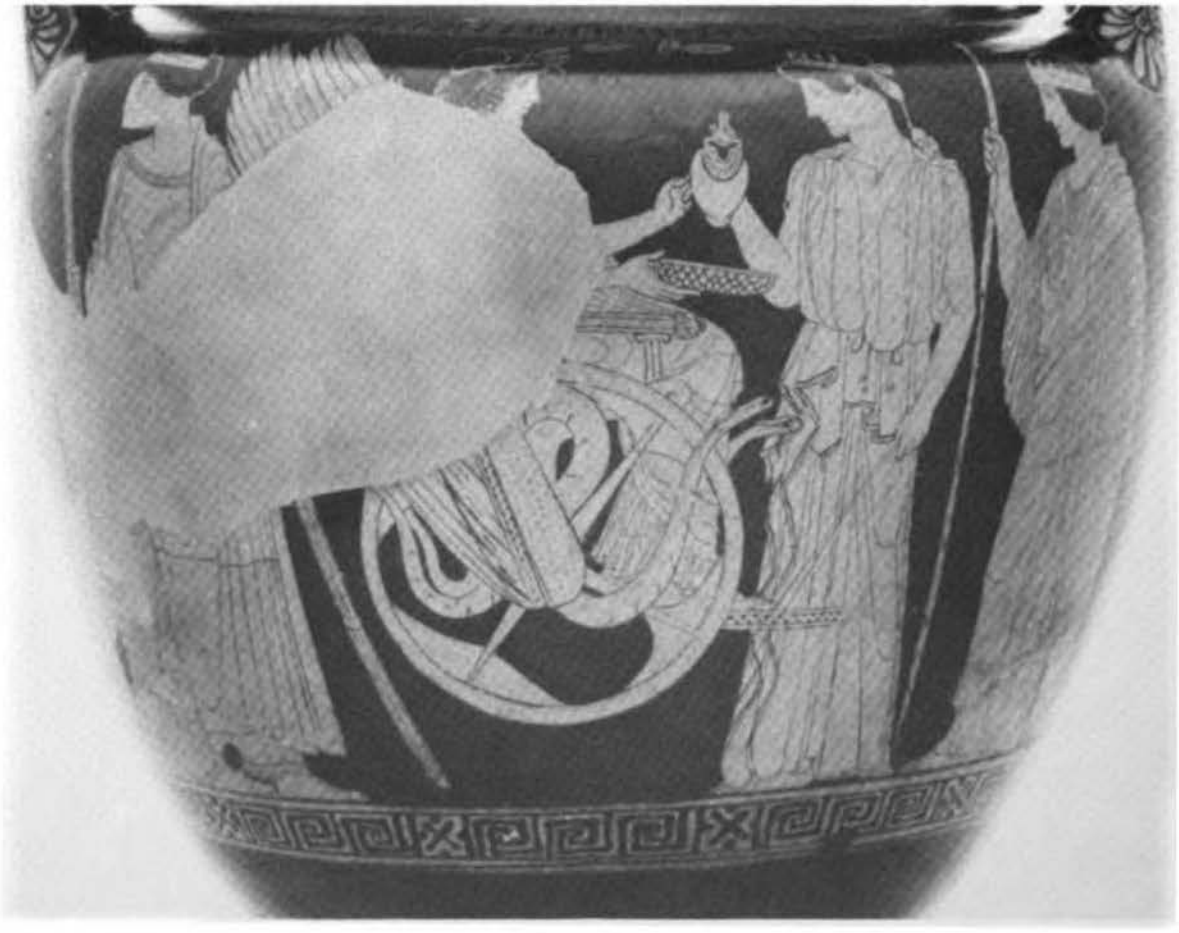
Fig. 7. Detail, Lakrateides Relief. Eubouleus, Sculpture, no. 3.

Fig. 6. Detail, Lakrateides Relief. Ploutos, Sculpture, no. 4.

Fig. 8. Lysimachides Relief, Athens, NM.

Fig. 10. Relief, Athens, Agora. Eubouleus, Sculpture, no. 2.

Figs. 11–12. Volute crater attributed to the Kleophon Painter, Stanford University Museum of Art.



Figs. 13–14. Volute crater attributed to the Kleophon Painter, Stanford University Museum of Art.

Figs. 15–16. Pelike by the Triptolemos Painter, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

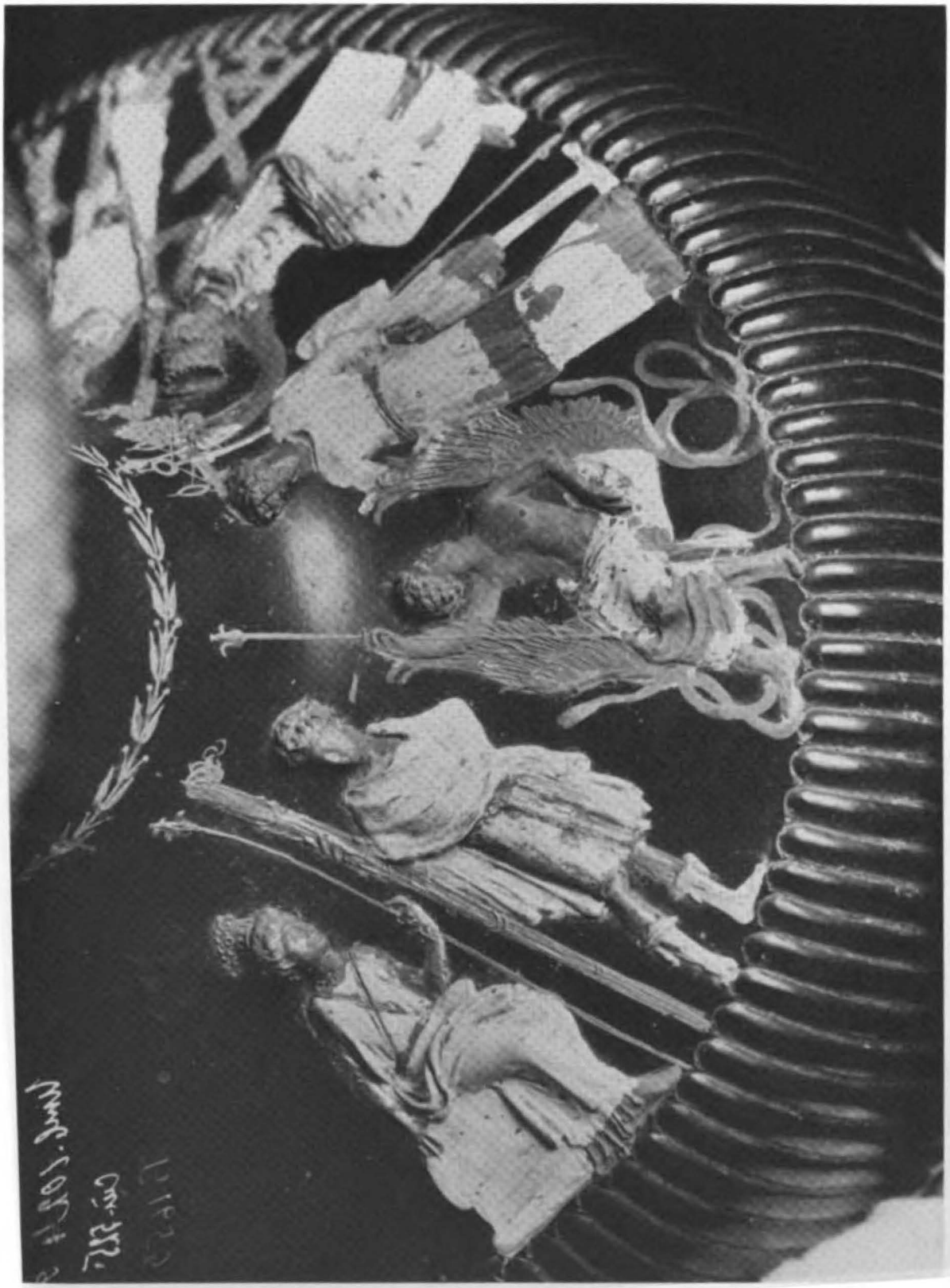


Fig. 17. Relief hydria, St. Petersburg, Hermitage. Eubouleus, Painting, no. 5.

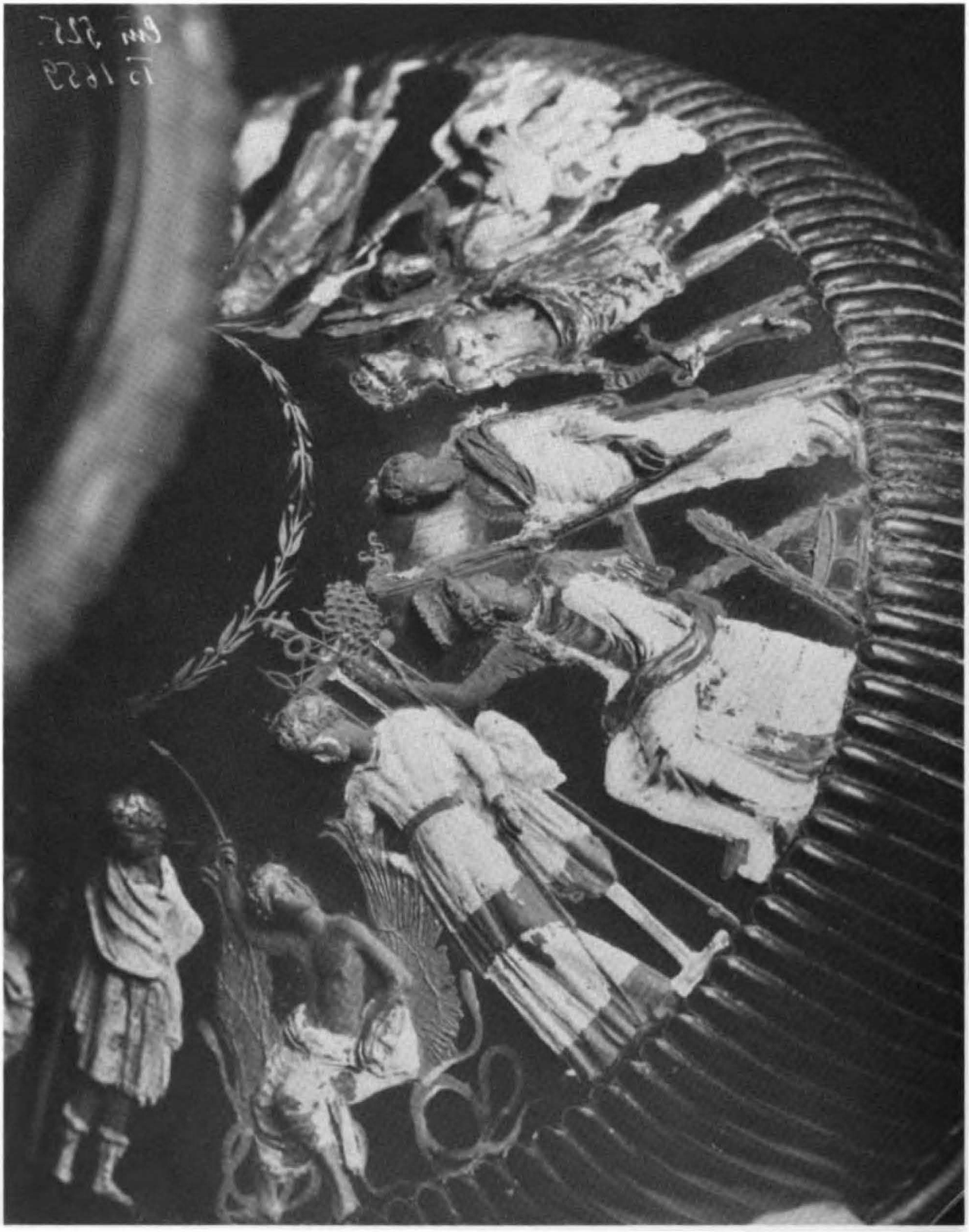


Fig. 18. Relief hydria, St. Petersburg, Hermitage. Eubouleus, Painting, no. 5.

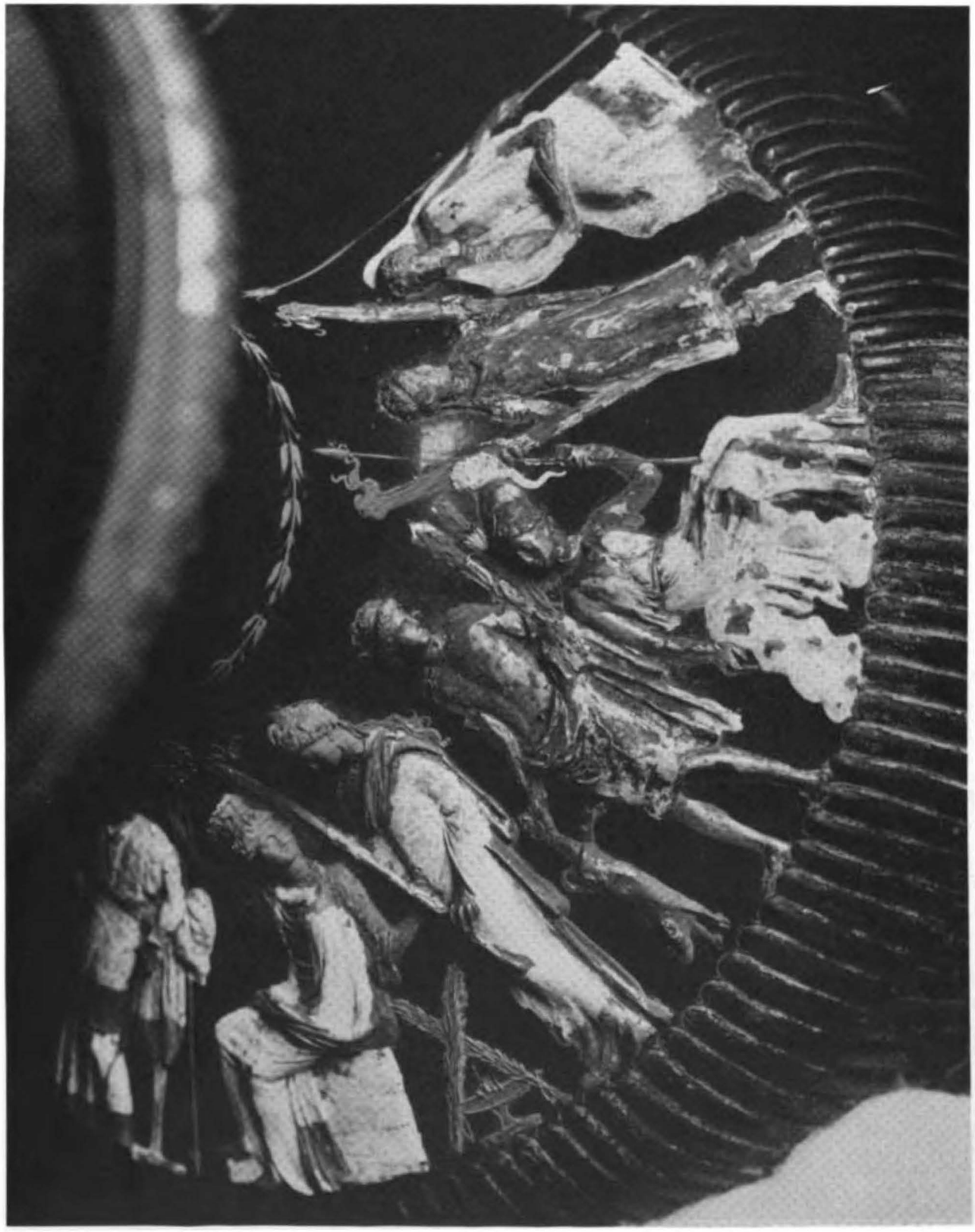
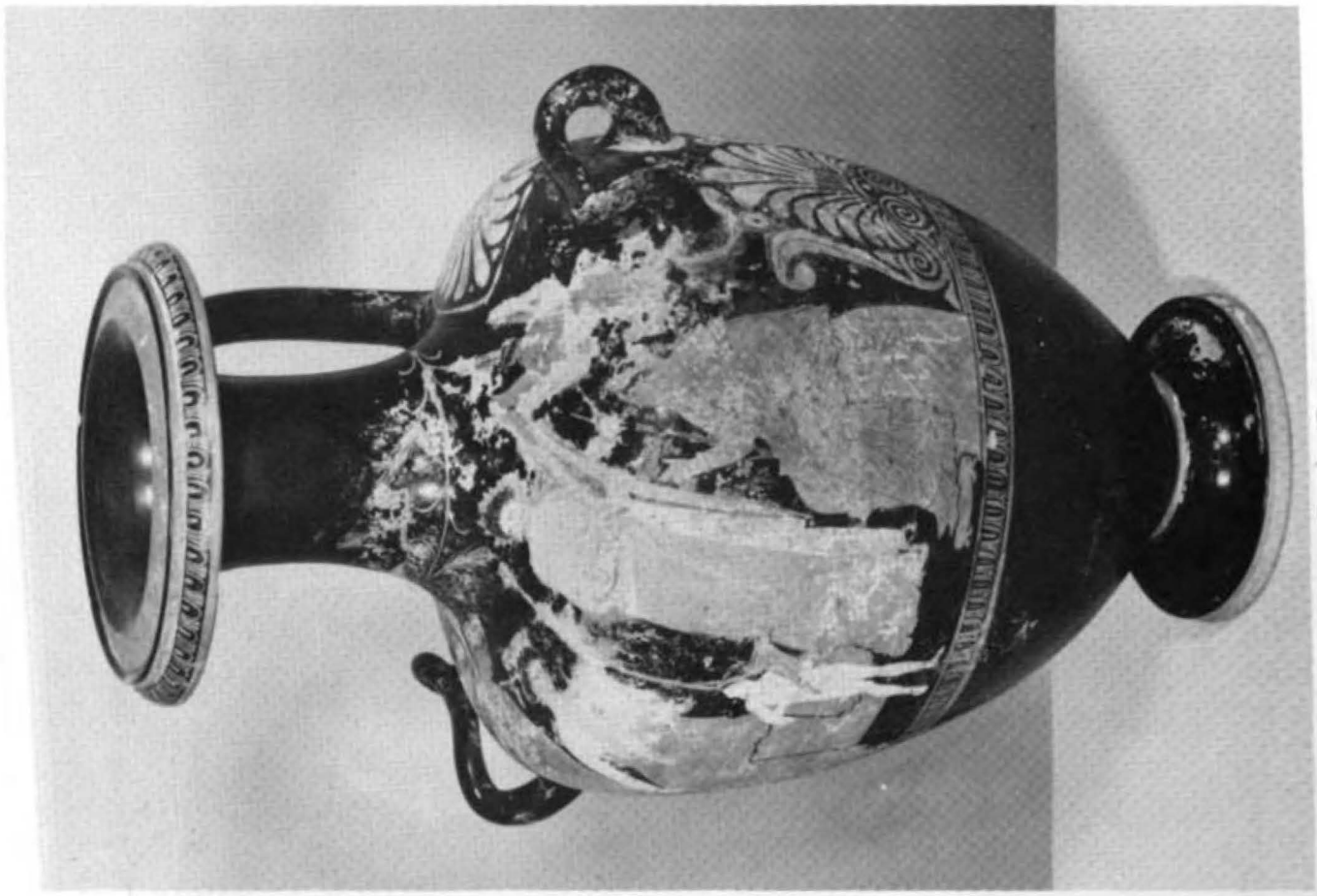
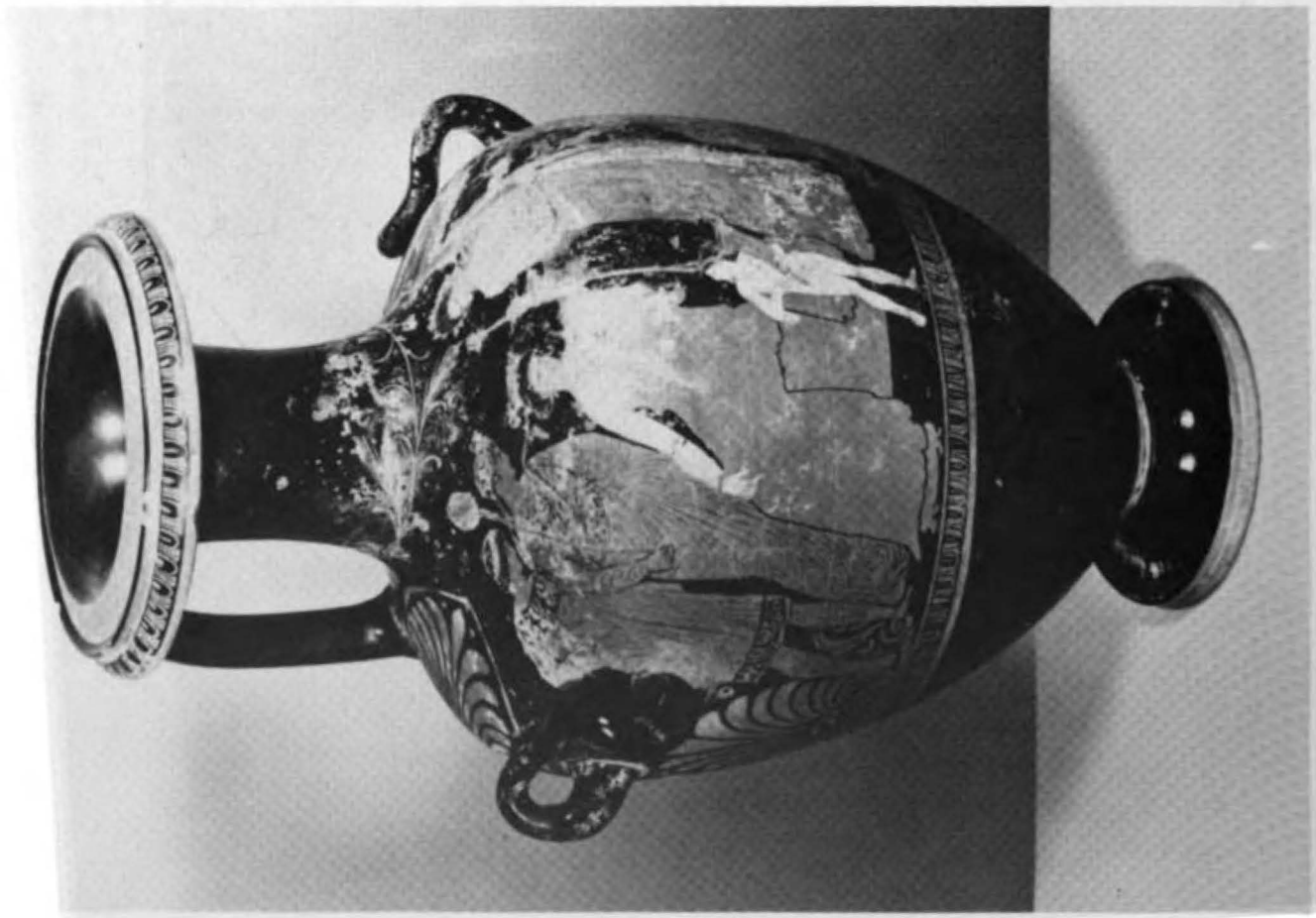


Fig. 19. Relief hydria, St. Petersburg, Hermitage. Eubouleus, Painting, no. 5.

Fig. 20. Pelike in the Kerch style, St. Petersburg, Hermitage. Eubouleus, Painting, no. 1.

Fig. 21. Drawing of Pelike in *Fig. 20*. Eubouleus, Painting, no. 1.





Figs. 22–23. Hydria in the Kerch style, Bern, Abbeg-Stiftung.

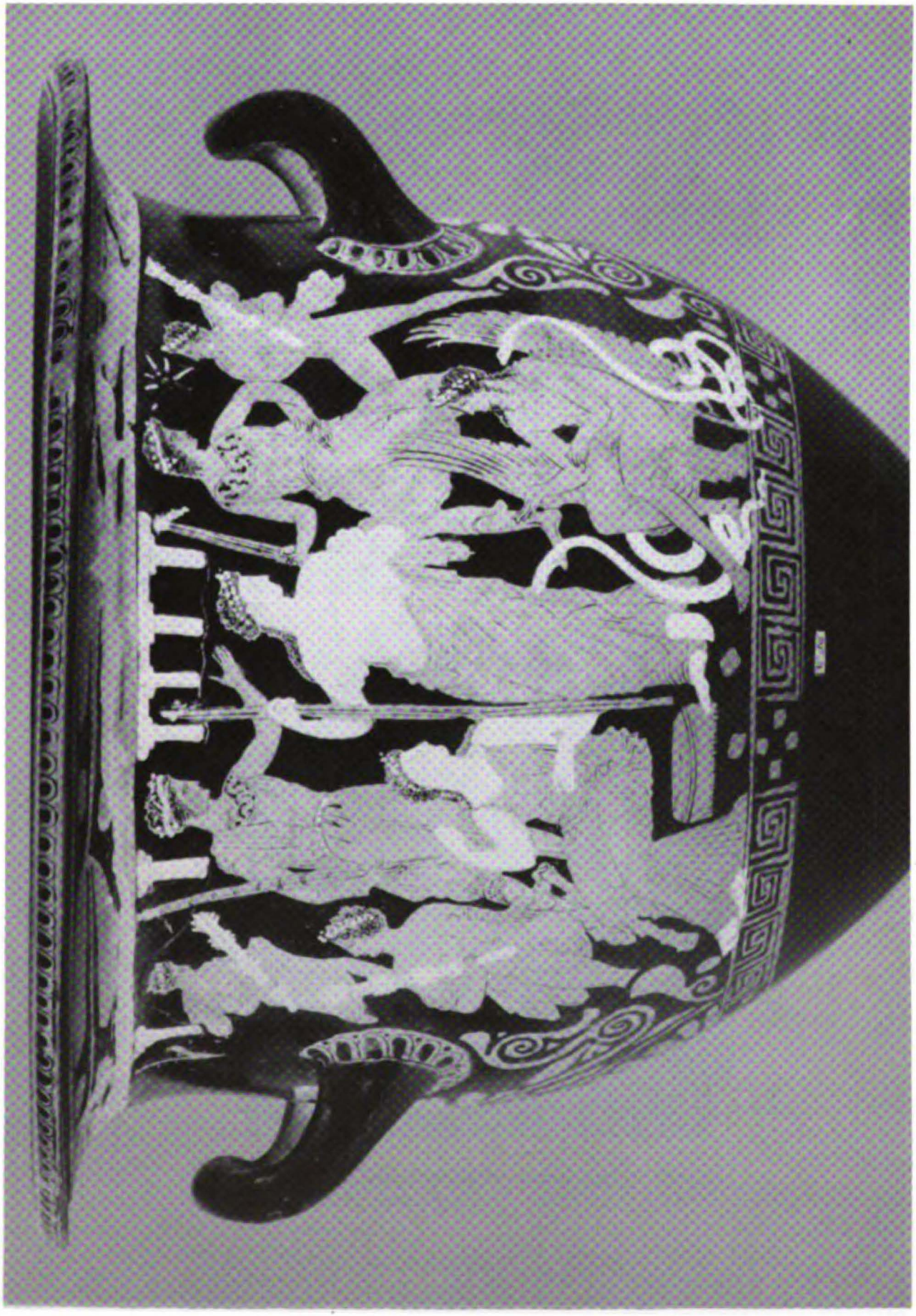


Fig. 24. Pourtalès crater, London, BM. Eubouleus, Painting, no. 4.

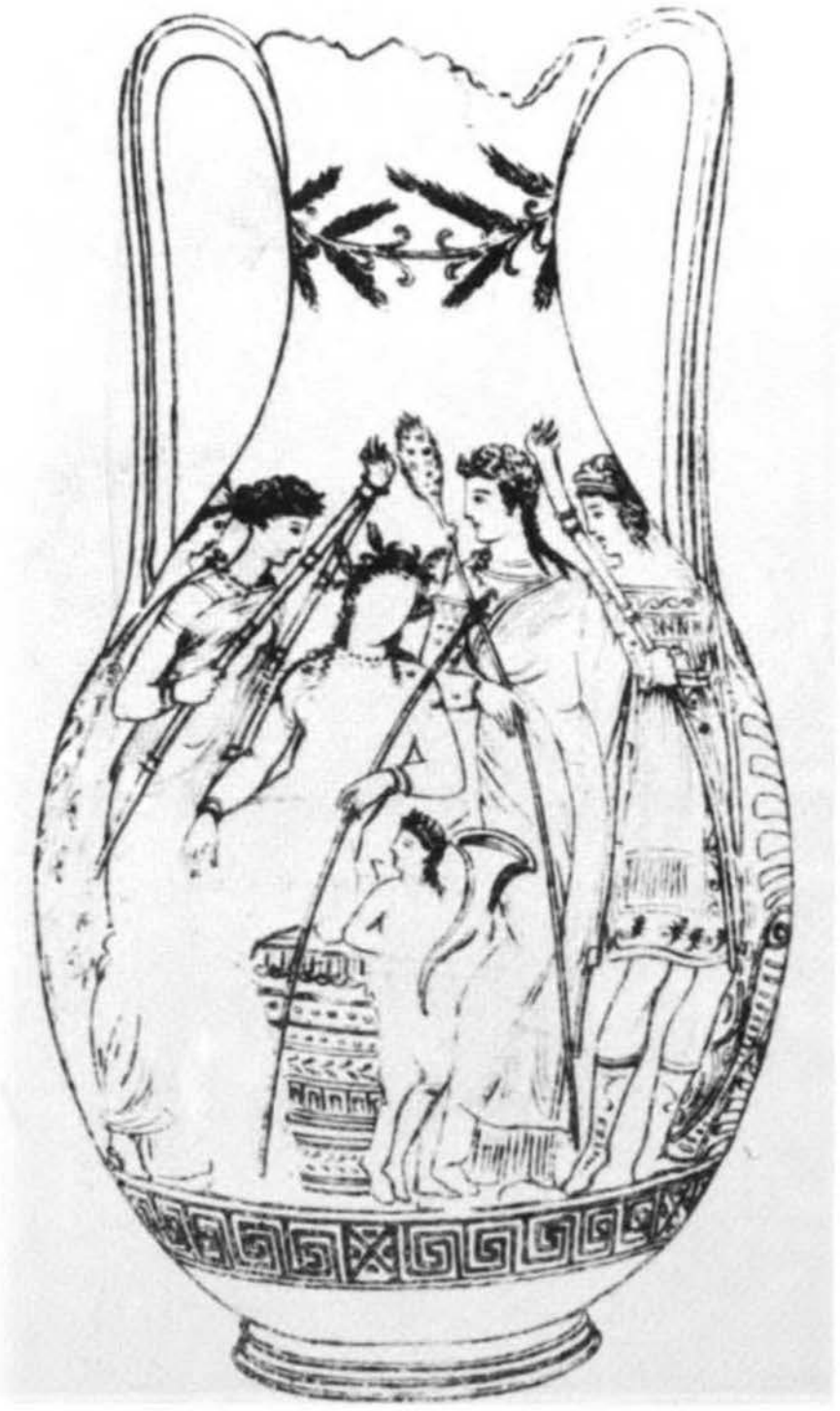
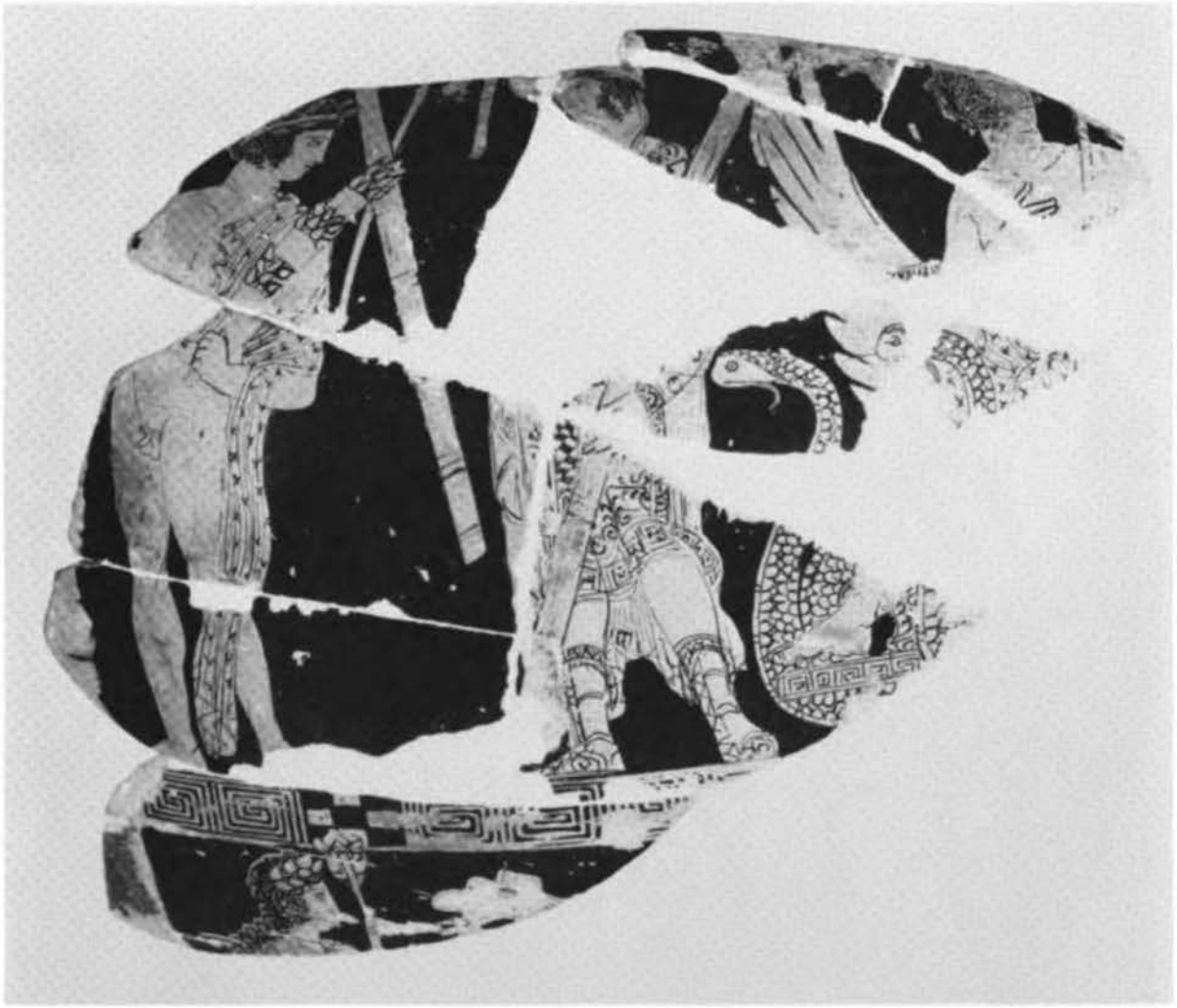


Fig. 25. Pelike in the Kerch style, formerly Sandford-Graham Collection. Ploutos, Painting, no. 4.

Figs. 26–28. Lekythos, Sofia, Archaeological Museum. Eubouleus, Painting, No. 3.

Fig. 29. Hydria in the Kerch style, Istanbul. Ploutos, Painting, No. 3.

Fig. 30. Lekanis cover by the Painter of Athens 1472. Tübingen, Archäologisches Museum



Figs. 31–32. Stamnos by the Painter of the Carlsruhe Paris, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Iakchos, Painting, No. 2.

Fig. 33. Hydria in the Kerch style, Athens, NM. Iakchos, Painting, No. 3.

Fig. 34. Belly amphora in the Kerch style, Cos, Archaeological Museum, Iakchos, Painting, No. 8.

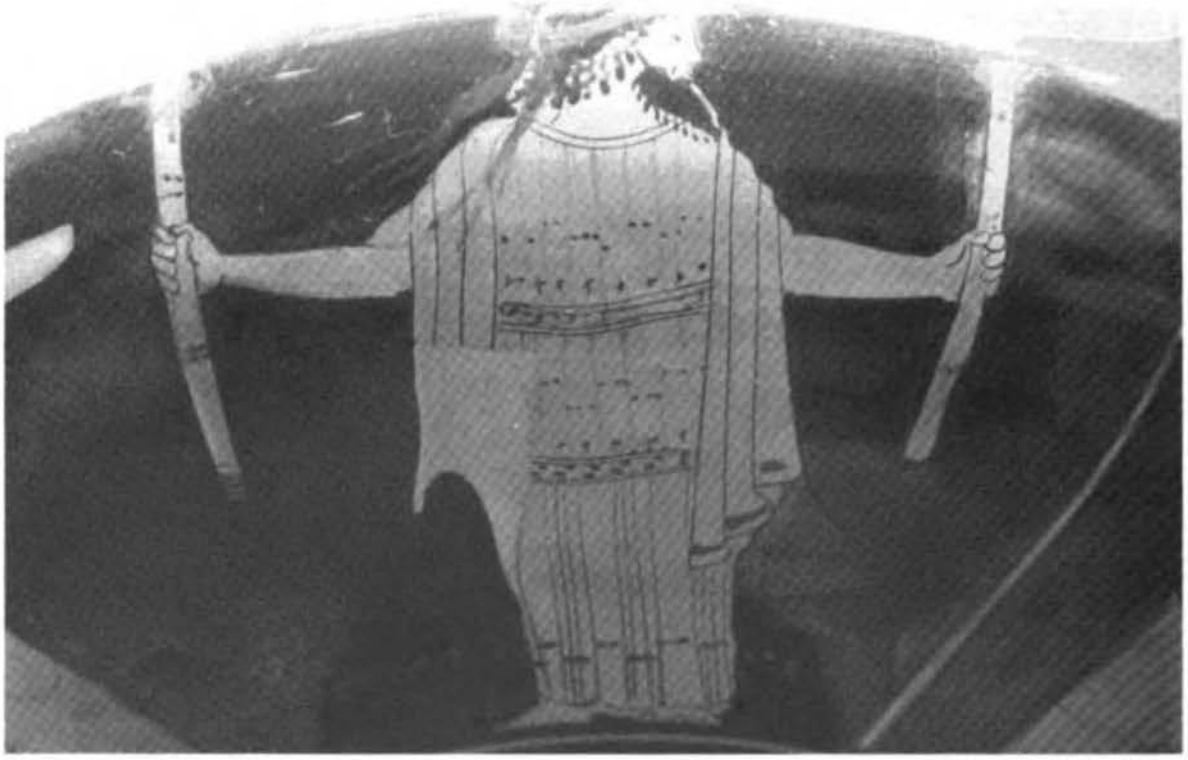
Fig. 35. Skyphos by the Painter of the Yale Lekythos, Brussels, Musée du Cinquantenaire. Iakchos, Painting, No. 7.

Fig. 36. Stamnos by Polygnotos, Florence, Museo Archeologico. Eubouleus, Painting, No. 10.

Fig. 37. Kylix by the Sabouroff Painter, Munich, Antikensammlungen. Eubouleus, Painting, No. 12.

Figs. 38–39. Kylix attributed to the Sabouroff Painter, London, Leventis Collection. Eubouleus, Painting, No. 13.

Figs. 40–41. Kylix attributed to the Sabouroff Painter, London, Leventis Collection. Eubouleus, Painting, No. 13.



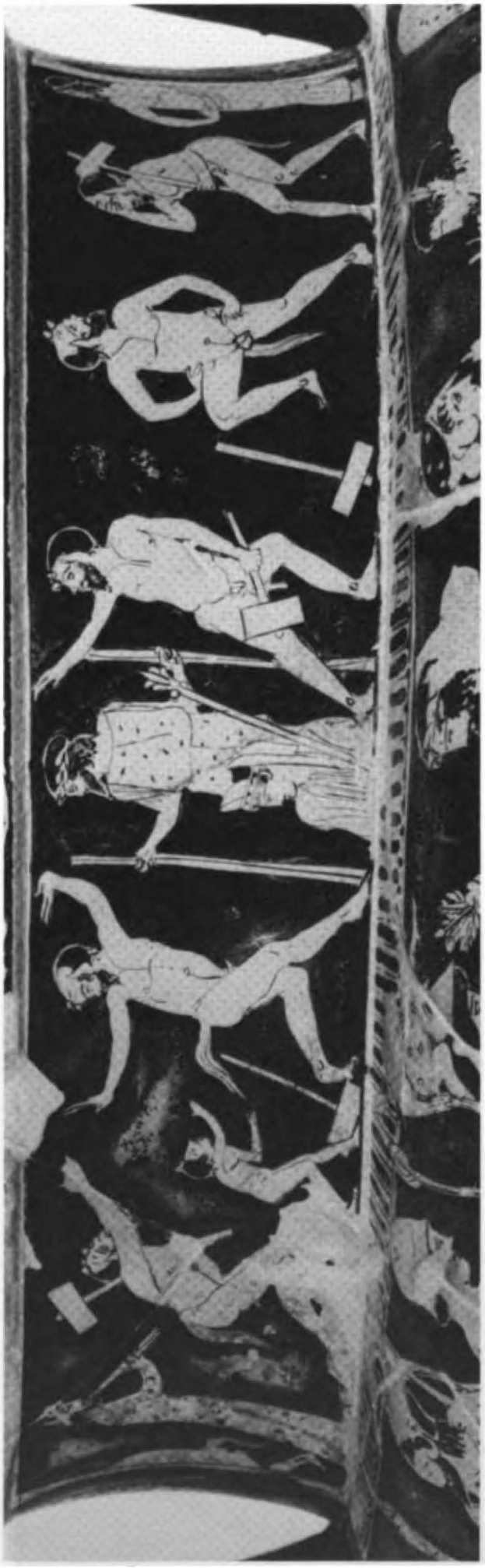


Fig. 42. Volute crater by the Painter of Bologna 279, Ferrara, Museo Nazionale Archeologico. Eubouleus, Painting, No. 11.

Figs. 43–44. Footed dinos attributed to the Syleus Painter, Malibu, Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum.

Figs. 45–46. Footed dinos attributed to the Syleus Painter, Malibu, Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum.

Fig. 47. Detail, footed dinos attributed to the Syleus Painter, Malibu, Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum.

Fig. 48. Volute crater by the Berlin Painter, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum.

Figs. 49–50. Skyphos in the manner of the Jena Painter, Athens, NM. Eubouleus, Painting, No. 14.

Figs. 51–52. Skyphos by Makron, London, BM. Eumolpos, Painting, No. 1.

Figs. 53–54. Skyphos by Makron, London, BM. Eumolpos, Painting, No. 1.

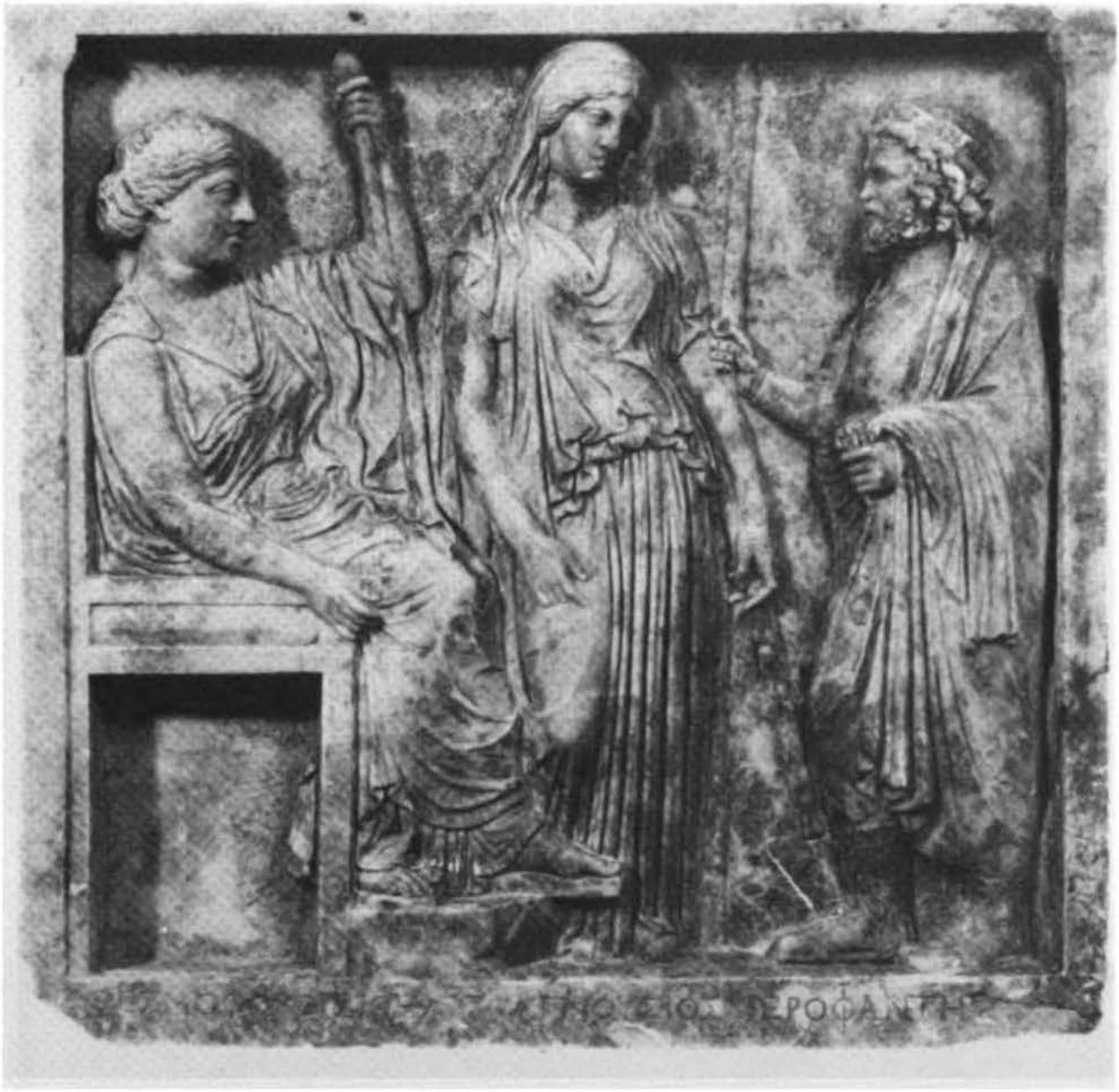
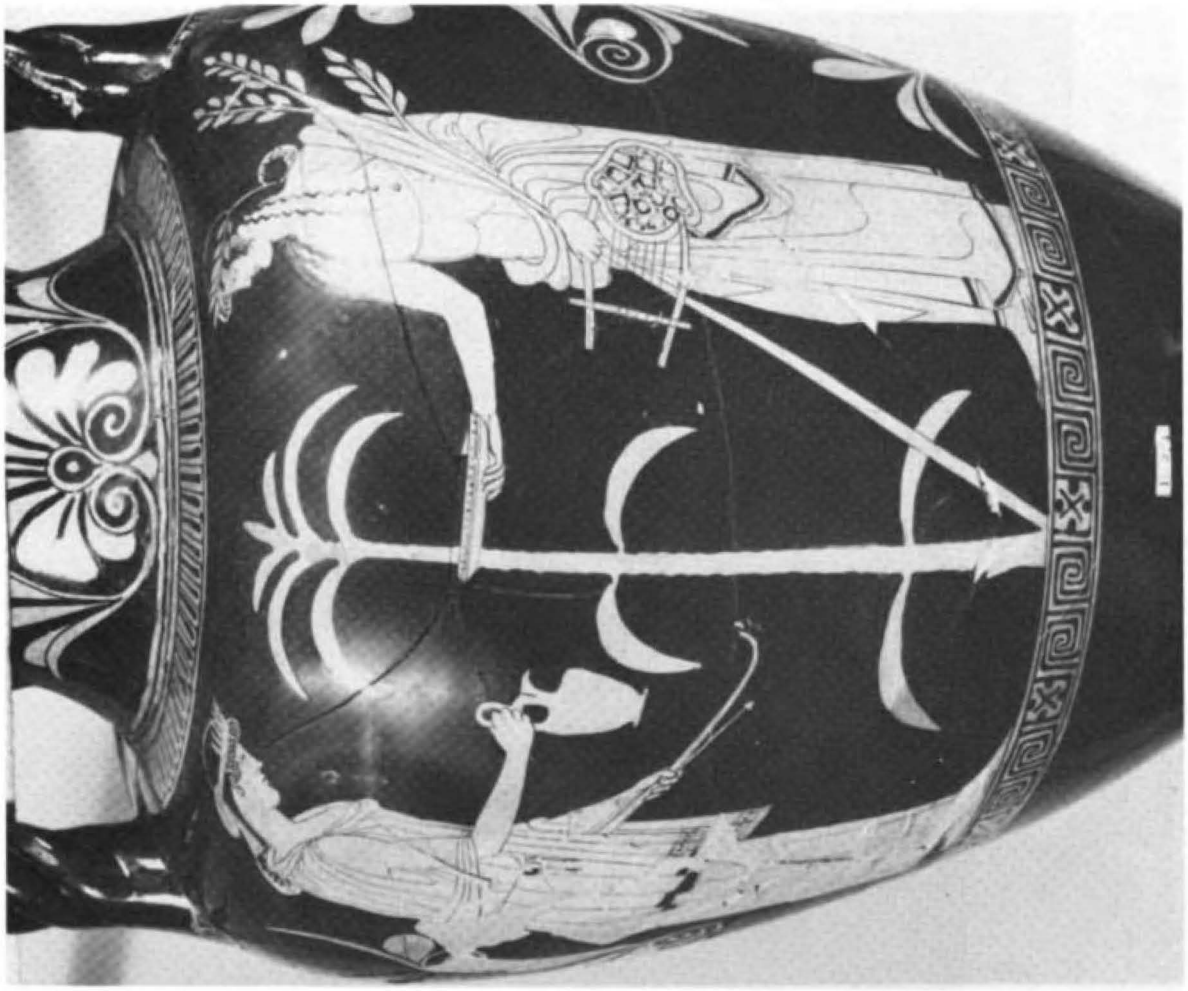


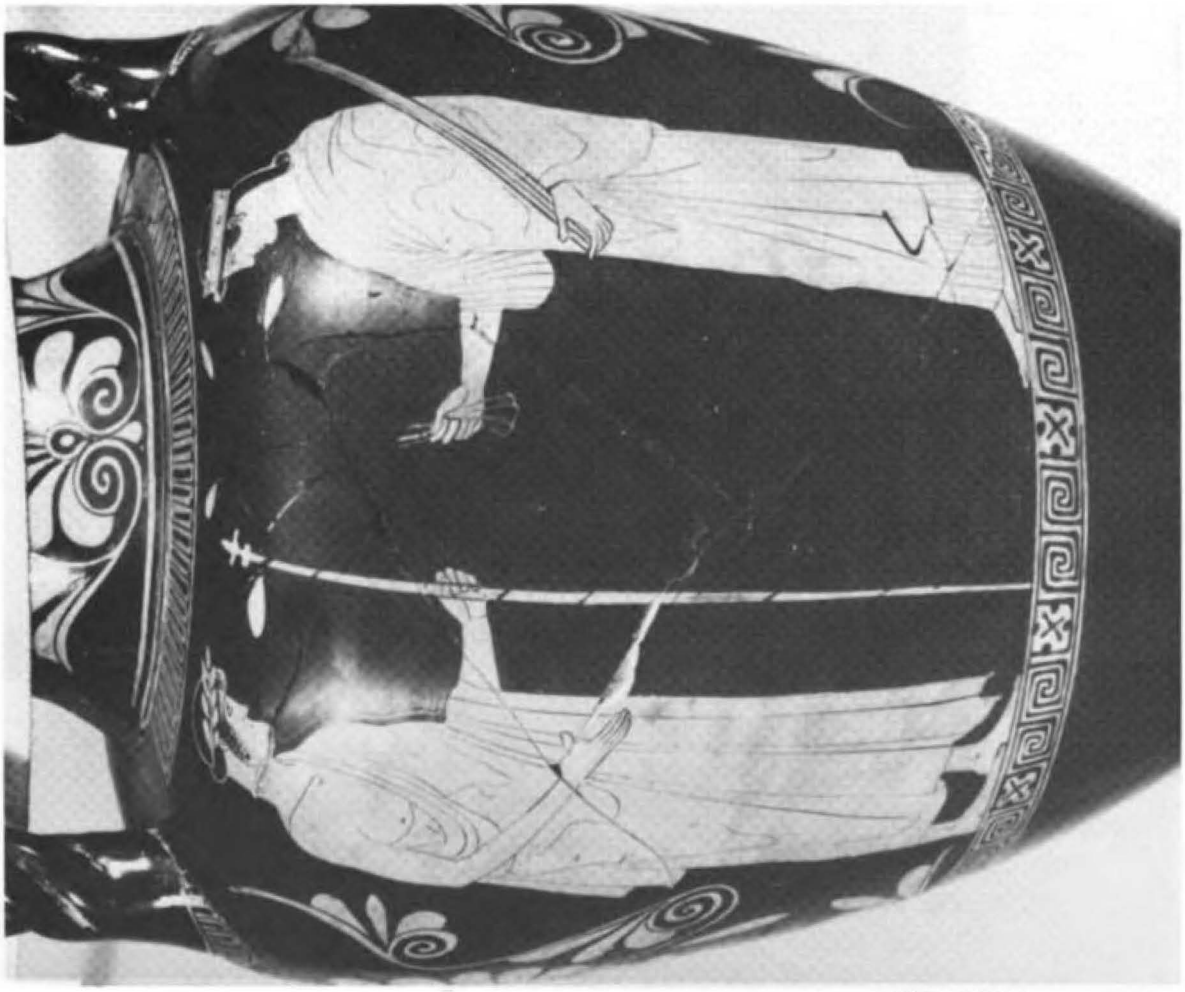
Fig. 55. Relief, Athens, from Olympieion. Eumolpos, Sculpture, No. 1.

Figs. 56–57. Hydria in the Kerch style, Athens, NM. Eumolpos, Painting, No. 3.

Figs. 58–59. Hydria in the Kerch style, Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Eumolpos, Painting, No. 4.

Fig. 60. Decree relief, Eleusis, Archaeological Museum. Eumolpos, Sculpture, No. 2.



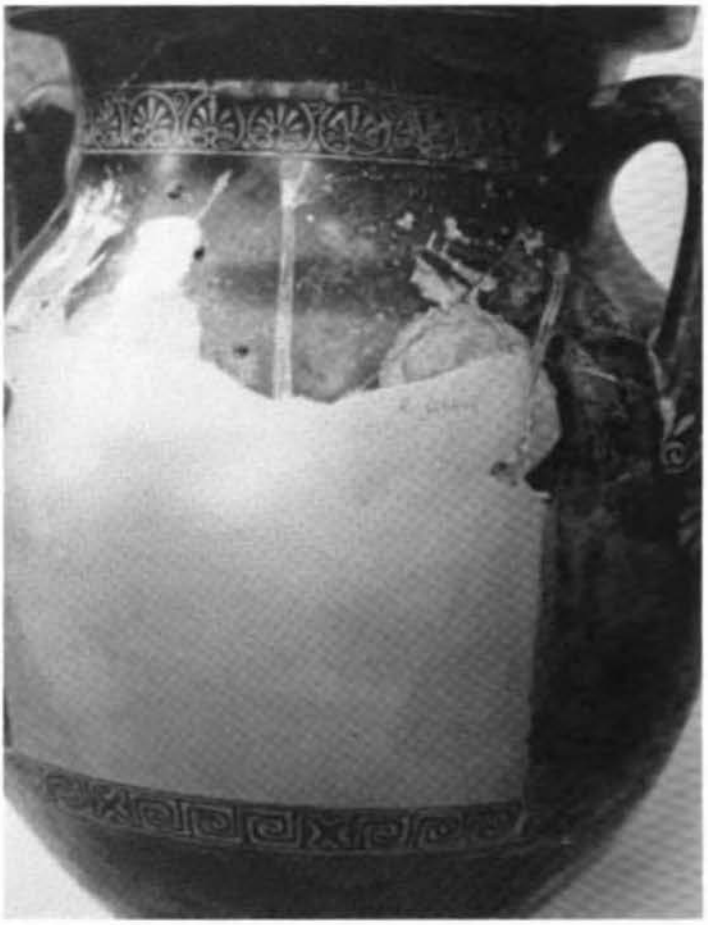


Figs. 61–62. Neck amphora by the Niobid Painter, London, BM. Eumolpos, Painting, No. 12.

Fig. 63. Skyphos fragment by the Marsyas Painter, Athens, NM. Eumolpos, Painting, No. 6.

Fig. 64. Statue, Athens, NM. Iakchos, Sculpture, No. 3.

Figs. 65–66. Neck amphora by a painter in the group of Polygnotos, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Arthur M. Sackler Museum.



Figs. 67–70. Belly amphora, Piraeus, Archaeological Museum, formerly Geroulanos Collection.

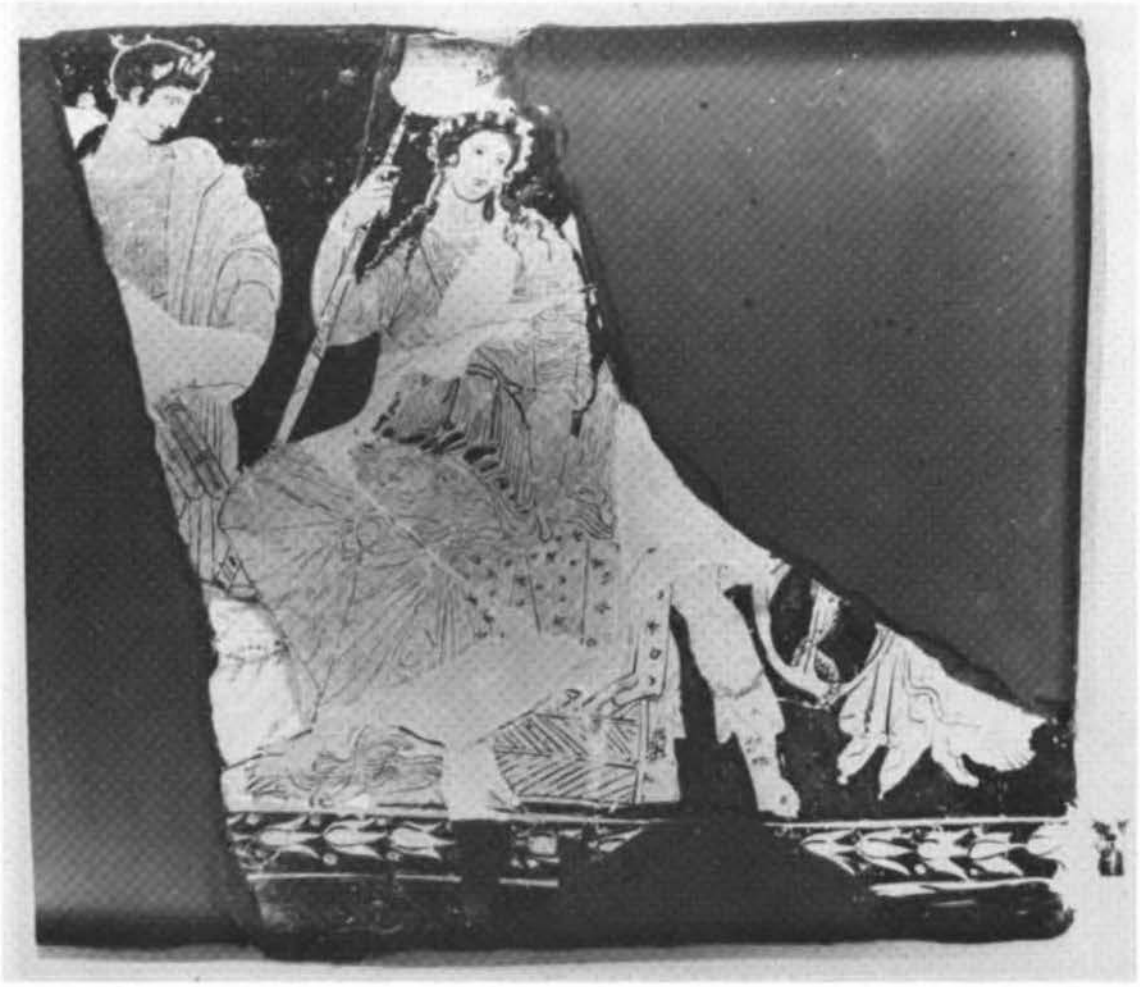


Fig. 71. Red-figure tablet, Eleusis, Archaeological Museum. Eubouleus, Painting, No. 6.

Fig. 72. Amphora by the Oionokles Painter, Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico.

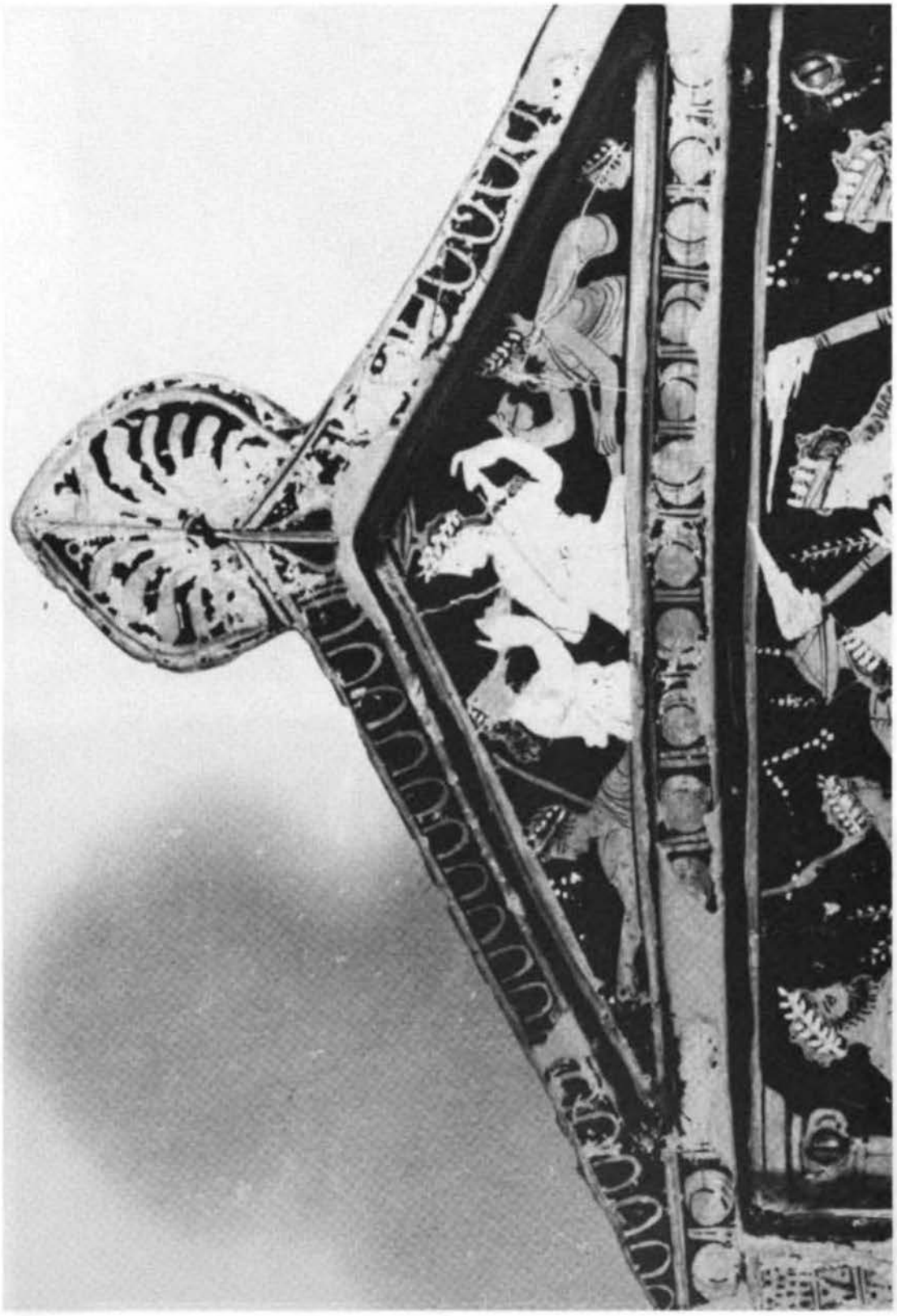


Fig. 73. Detail, Ninnion Tablet, Athens, NM. Iakchos, Painting, No. 1.

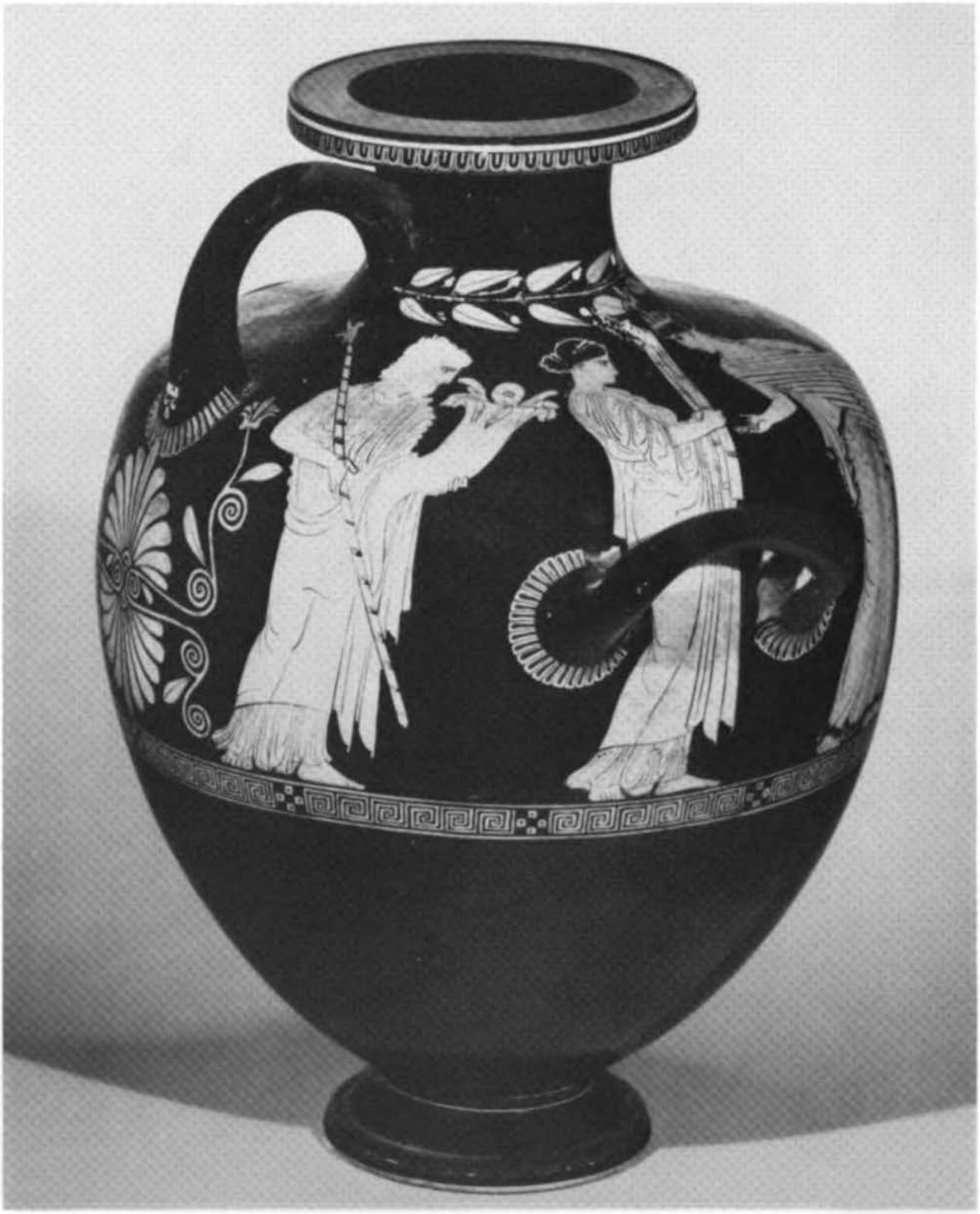


Fig. 74. Hydria by the Painter of London E 183, London, BM. Appendix 3.III.

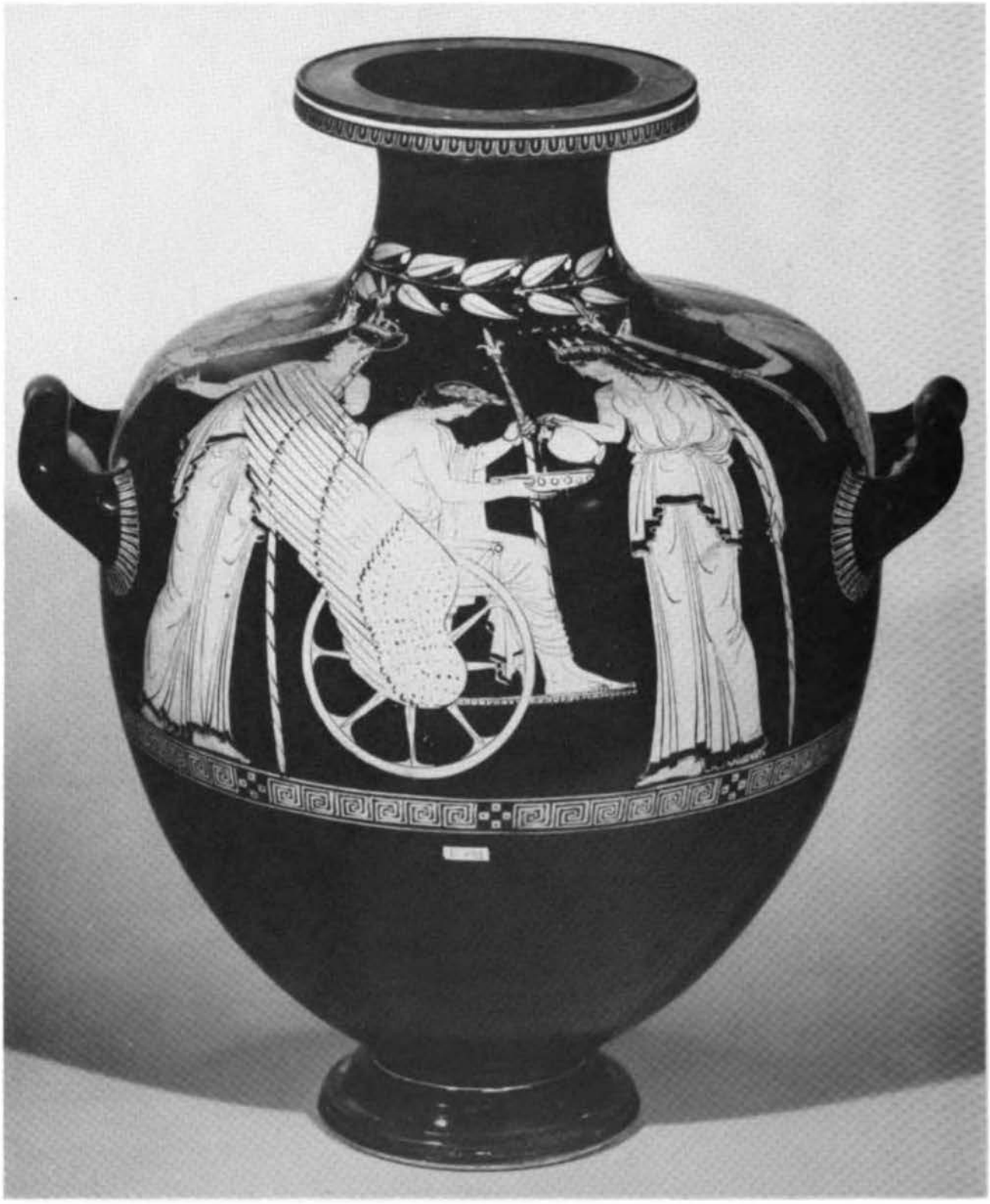


Fig. 75. Hydria by the Painter of London E 183, London, Bm. Appendix 3.III.

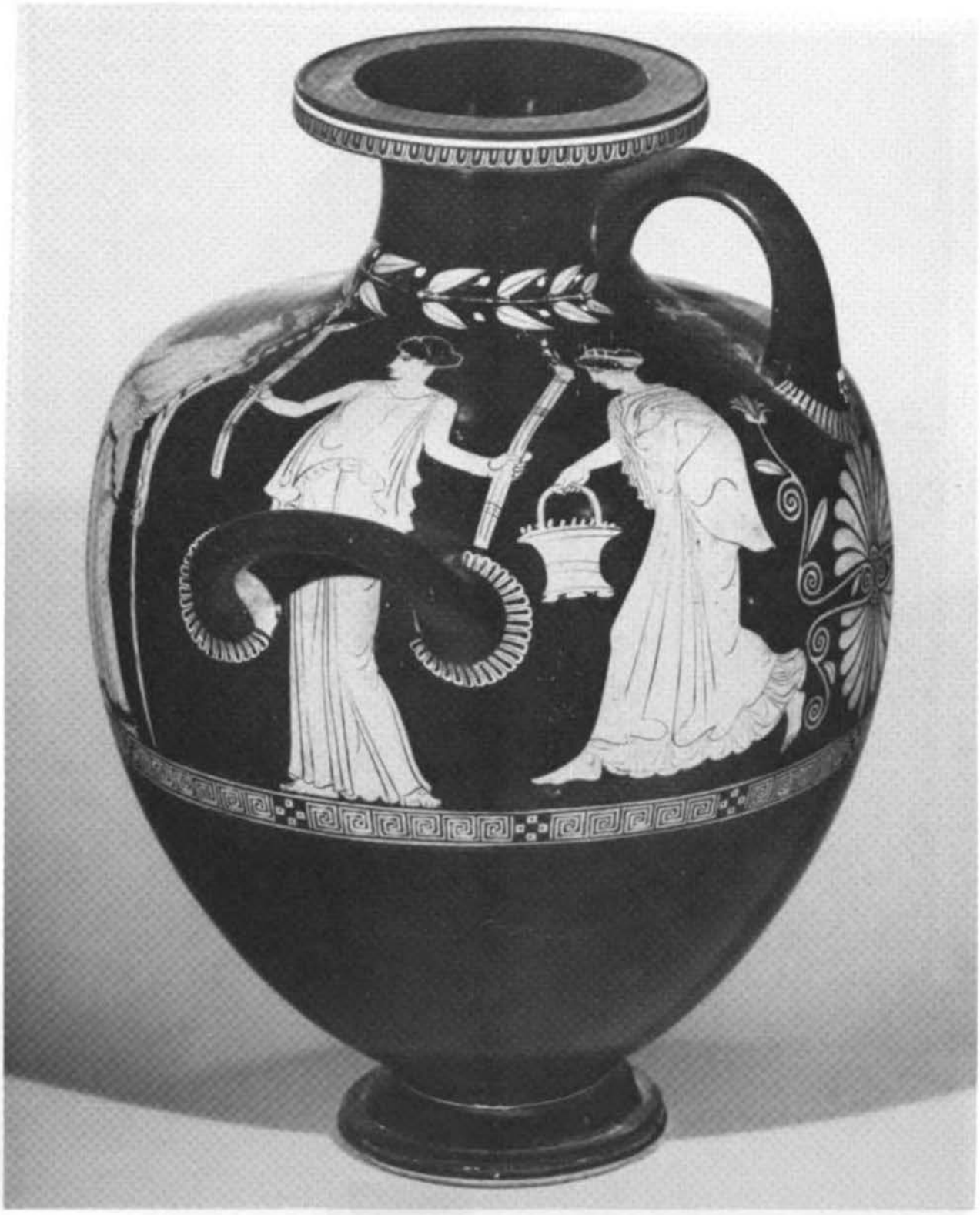


Fig. 76. Hydria by the Painter of London E 183, London, Bm. Appendix 3.III.

Fig. 77. Detail, fragment of a phiale mesomphalos by Douris, Malibu, Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum. Ploutos, Painting, No. 1.

Fig. 78. Marble votive plaque, Athens, NM.